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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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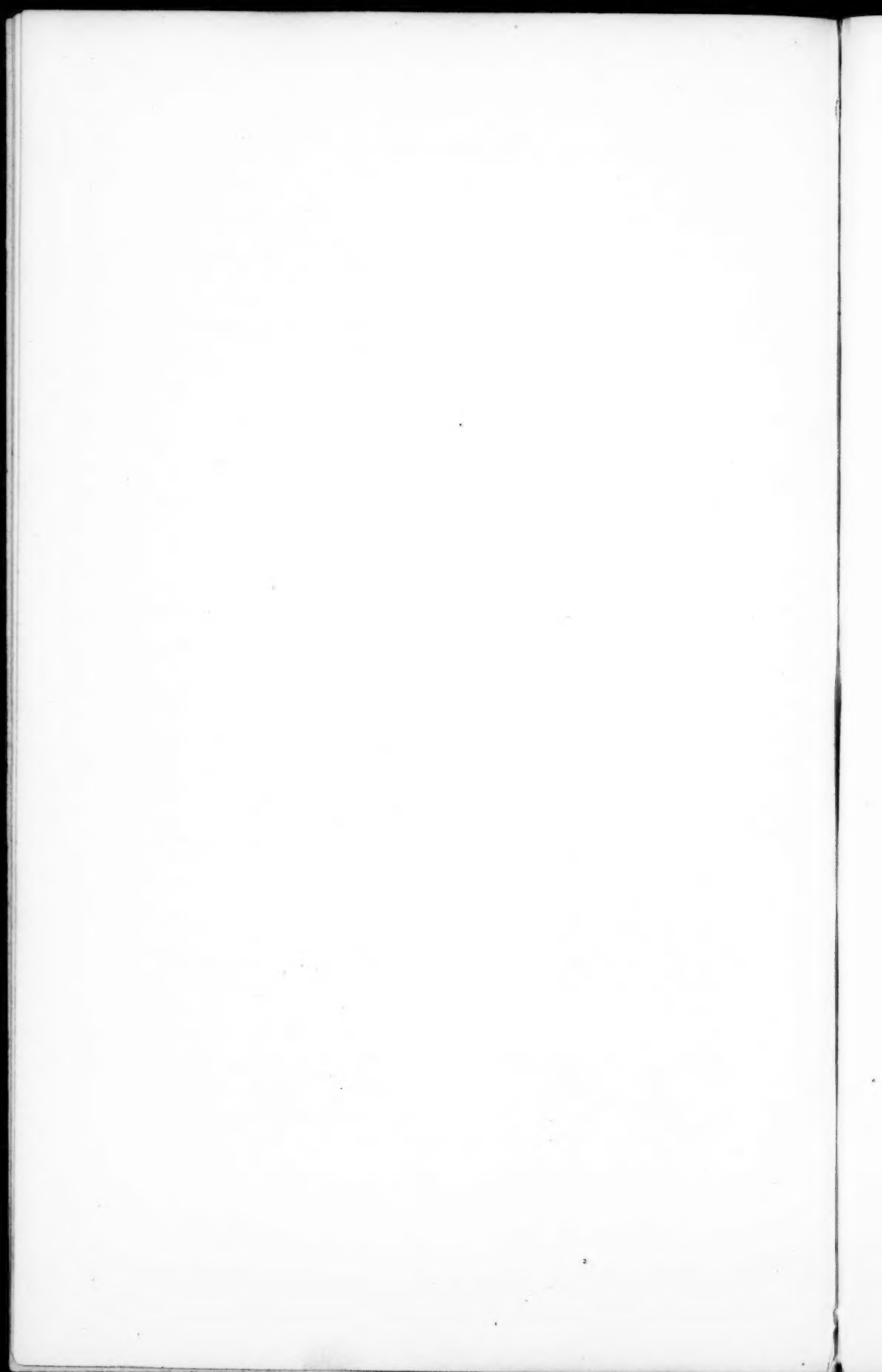
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VOLUME XXXVII

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NUMBER 1

SIR THOMAS ELYOT'S *TITUS AND GYSIPPUS*

The opinion that prevails of the source and treatment of Sir Thomas Elyot's story of Titus and Gysippus is not very satisfactory. Apparently it was attended by some misgivings with those who formed it. H. S. Croft says: "The tale which occupies nearly the whole of the present chapter is a translation of one of the stories in the Decameron of Boccaccio (Gior. X, Novel. viii.), and is probably the earliest English version of any of the great poet's writings. It is doubtful, however, whether Sir Thos. Elyot translated directly from the original or (as appears more probable) made use of a Latin version, by the celebrated Philip Beroaldo, whose editions of the classics were in great repute in the sixteenth century. . . . The reader who compares Sir T. Elyot's version either with the Italian of Boccaccio, or with the Latin of Beroaldo, will not fail to remark that our author has diverged widely from both sources."¹ A. C. Lee, referring to the Decameron story, says: "It is also translated or rather paraphrased by Sir Thomas Elyot in his 'The Boke Named the Governour' It is not quite clear from what version Sir T. Elyot took his, as it differs both from the one in the Decameron and from that of Beroaldo. . . . As the first complete translation of the Decameron into English was not until 1619, this tale is interesting as being one of the first renderings into English of any of the tales."² The recent editors

¹"*The Boke Named the Governour*, devised by Sir Thomas Elyot, Knight," 1531. The authoritative edition is by Henry Herbert Stephen Croft, two volumes, 1883. The story of Titus and Gysippus, "wherein is the ymage of perfecte amitie," is in Book II, chapter XII. The editor gives an excellent reprint of the Latin version of the story.

²*The Decameron, Its Sources and Analogues*, p. 338.

of Lyly's *Euphues* say: "In Elyot's *Governour* . . . the story of Titus and Gysippus, transl. from Boccaccio, forms ch. xii. of the same book."³ And Mary Augusta Scott repeats Mr. Croft by saying: "It is uncertain whether Sir Thomas Elyot translated directly from Boccaccio, or, as is more likely, made use of a Latin version, by the celebrated Philip Beroaldo, whose editions of the classics were in great repute in the sixteenth century."⁴

The theme on which the story is built is the popular medieval ideal, both chivalric and humanistic, of the 'sworn brotherhood' or steadfast friendship between two men. It is wrought into story form by having the two men, thus devoted to each other, subjected to the supreme test of rivalry in love. In this character it has some great associations in the course of its history. It is the slight plot of Lyly's *Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit*, and it constitutes the thin narrative thread of Shakespeare's *Sonnets*. In modern literature it has received treatment in Goethe's early novel, *Werthers Leiden*, and in Tennyson's fine sea poem, *Enoch Arden*.

The story as used by Elyot consists of two parts. The second part comprises the return sacrifice by the friend, so far as it is allowed to develop, in offering himself instead for the death penalty incurred by his former benefactor and companion. In this way the material is related to the well-known motif of Damon and Pythias, and endless ramifications are involved. Even in its two part character the story is found many times in medieval literature.⁵

Two men in good circumstances, from different countries, are thrown together in the same pursuits, and by a congeniality of tastes become the closest friends. One is betrothed to a lady of gentle birth and breeding. The other incidentally meets the lady and falls deeply in love with her. He repines and falls ill, is questioned by his friend, and confesses his ailment. Instantly the friend yields all claims to the lady's hand, and urges and aids her union with the other. After the marriage the couple repair to the husband's native city. Sometime later the generous friend loses his property and is driven into exile. He wanders to the

³ M. W. Croll and Harry Clemons, *Euphues*, p. 30, footnote 2.

⁴ *Elizabethan Translations from the Italian*, p. 226-7.

⁵ Both Mr. Lee, *supra*, and Dr. Landau, *Die Quellen des Dekameron*, give a long list of analogues.

home of his former bosom friend in the distant city. In his disappointment at not being recognized and relieved, he withdraws to a deserted place nearby to spend the night. A murder is committed hard by, and he is charged with it. To end his miserable existence he confesses to the crime and is led to judgment. In the course of the trial his now prosperous and powerful friend recognizes him and inculpates himself with the crime to save the wretched man from the impending fate. The real murderer in the crowd becomes remorseful at the remonstrances between the two friends, and gives himself up. In the good will that follows the criminal is pardoned, the friends are reunited, and happiness for all ensues.

There can be little doubt that Elyot knew the Boccaccio story or the Beroaldo translation of it, more probably the latter from his humanistic tastes and preferences. The identity of names, certain coincidences of particular elements, and a general resemblance in form and mechanical outline, indicate as much quite conclusively. But to say that the Elyot version is a translation or even a paraphrase of either Boccaccio or Beroaldo is to assume more than is warranted from the facts in hand. Beroaldo is a translation, as nearly literal as well can be, of Boccaccio. But analysis will show that Elyot's account differs from the others in several very vital particulars, more indeed than one is content to ascribe wholly to Elyot's inventive talent in reconstructing the story.

(1) The time is not specifically that of Octavius Caesar. (2) The number of characters is reduced, and names are modified or omitted. (3) The fathers of the young men are not friends or acquainted with each other. Titus's father is a Roman senator, not simply a gentleman in Rome. (4) The close physical resemblance of the two friends is added and emphasized. (5) The friends are associated almost from childhood—eight years instead of three. (6) Gysippus's wooing of Sophronia is carried on secretly from Titus. (7) Titus does not debate with himself whether or not to indulge his love, but deals only in reproaches of himself and his fate. (8) He does not dissemble his passion on being questioned by Gysippus, but confesses freely and contritely. (9) Gysippus is not hesitant in his decision after Titus's confession, or half-hearted in the sacrifice he elects to make for the sake of their friendship. (10) There is no long courtly debate between the two. (11) Gysippus does not say or feel that he can

easily convert his love to another, or offer his plan late, and as a mere subterfuge, but gives it at once whole-heartedly in full realization of the cost it means to him. (12) There is a complete recognition by the two friends of a high-ordained fate in Titus's love. (13) Titus's father is dead before the marriage, not dies after. (14) Sophronia is not given an explanation of the great imposture put upon her. According to a much older order, having no rights above mere chattel she may but acquiesce in the high control of love which Titus and Gysippus have recognized and honored. (15) Public avowal of the manner of the marriage is made on the day following by Gysippus's wise provision, not compelled by the scandal arising from delay and by Titus's urgent recall to Rome. (16) The assembly is not held in a temple by Titus's cunning or made up of the dissatisfied kindred only, but is summoned by Gysippus at his own house and comprises "all the nobilitie of the citie." (17) Titus's speech is not specious, arrogant, or derogatory of the character of the Greeks, but is straightforward, full of high reasoning, and honorable to the Greeks: it is not an intimidation but an elucidation, with a new line of argument altogether.

The second part shows greater divergencies still. (1) There is a long lapse of time, enough that "many fayre children" are born to Titus and Sophronia, and Titus is raised to many dignities and honors in Rome. (2) Persons and names are omitted, titles and offices are different, and institutions are changed. (3) Titus and Sophronia issue out their Roman mansion, not Titus alone passes by, when Gysippus is encountered. (4) Gysippus's swooning, and recovery by bystanders, from his disappointment is added. (5) He takes refuge in an old barn outside the city, not in a deserted cave within the city. (6) He is not merely disconsolate and falls asleep, but meditates suicide, lifts his knife against himself, but is prevented from carrying out his purpose by his philosophy. (7) The murder is not committed in his place of refuge before his eyes, but outside while he is asleep. (8) The murderer comes into the barn, discovers the sleeper, recognizes his desperate state, befouls his knife with blood, and departs without awaking him. (9) Gysippus does not confess the murder when aroused by the searcher and when charged with it, but merely rejoices and denies nothing. (10) He is not carried before Marcus Varro, Praetor, Titus happening in by chance, but is taken at once to the senate,

where Titus is sitting as "Consull or in other lyke dignitie." (11) He is not condemned to crucifixion and led away before Titus confesses: no sentence is passed when the real criminal appears and gives himself up. (12) The case is not finally referred to Caesar from the pretorium, but is settled in the senate. (13) In Boccaccio and Beroaldo Gysippus is received joyously by Titus and Sophronia, shares their goods, is given Titus's sister Fulvia to wife, and the four remain in Rome under one roof completely happy. In Elyot Gysippus is as gladly received, is offered abundance, but returns home accompanied by Titus with a large army which does "sharpe execution" on his enemies in Athens, his goods are restored, and he is left in "perpetuall quietenes" unmarried.

In a larger consideration of the entire story. (1) Phrasal similarities are lacking. (2) Proportion in like elements in the two versions is not maintained. (3) The argument is new, and the form in which it is cast is different. And most notable of all, (4) the spirit and purpose are radically dissimilar. The older story, notwithstanding its formal profession, purposes to extol love. Elyot, on the other hand, adjusts his treatment to his theme of "perfecte amitie," and exemplifies and exalts friendship. The difference is substantially that of two adverse types of writers, the courtly romancer and the moralizing humanist. Obviously the idea that Sir Thomas Elyot's story is a "translation" or even a "paraphrase" of Boccaccio's or Beroaldo's must be abandoned.

The recognized source in western literatures of the story in full form is the *Disciplina Clericalis* of Petrus Alphonsus(-i), a learned Spanish Jew who was converted to Christianity in 1106. Petrus's work is derived confessedly from the Arabic, in part at least,⁶ and in translation and adaptation was popular throughout the middle ages.⁷ The story (II in the collection) is much briefer than Elyot's or Boccaccio's, but it is unmistakably the same story.⁸

* "Propterea ergo libellum compegi, partim ex prouerbiis philosophorum et suis castigacionibus, partim ex prouerbiis et castigacionibus arabicis et fabulis et uersibus, partim ex animalium et uolucrum similitudinibus."—Prologus.

⁷ "*Disciplina Clericalis* ist der hergebrachte Name der ersten occidentalischen Sammlung morgenländischer Geschichten und Sprüche, bekanntlich das älteste Novellenbuch des Mittelalters."—A. Hilka und W. Söderhjelm, *Die Disciplina*, u. s. w., Vorwort.

⁸ Dr. Marcus Landau, *supra*, thinks the story in the *Disciplina Clericalis*

Two merchants, one of Egypt the other of Bagdad, become friends through business dealings. In the course of their transactions the Bagdadian comes to Egypt, is received hospitably by the Egyptian and entertained for eight days. At the end of this time he falls sick, and is discovered by his anxious host to be in love. The good host generously enquires if there is a damsel in the household whom he affects. All are made to pass in review before him—singers, dancers, daughters—but none please him. There remains only a certain noble maiden in the house, whom the merchant has long been educating for his own wife. She is without hesitation presented, and the sick man declares: "*Ex hac est michi mors et in hac est michi uita!*" Thereupon the unselfish master surrenders her to the friend, settles a marriage portion upon her, effects the union of the two, and allows them to depart for the husband's native city. In time the Egyptian falls into misfortune and is driven into exile. He wanders to the city and home of his friend, but in shame at his wretched condition withdraws to an old shrine nearby for the night. For a long time he meditates anxiously his sad plight. A murder is committed outside. The body is found. Searchers enter the shrine, find the Egyptian, and have his confession that he did the deed. He is tried and condemned to death. By chance his friend is in the crowd, recognizes him, and to save him from the impending fate confesses to the murder himself. The real felon, present in the concourse, is struck by the devotion of the two friends, and comes forward and confesses. The Bagdadian honors his recovered friend, shares his goods with him, and offers him a home for life. But the Egyptian, with the favor of fortune upon him once more, returns to his native land.

Some features of the Petrus story persuade one to believe that Elyot knew it as well. (1) The eight days' entertainment becomes eight years in Elyot, as compared with three years in Boccaccio and Beroaldo. (2) The noble damsel is in no way considered in the transfer of lovers and the marriage. (3) The old shrine is more nearly the "olde barne" than the cave. (4) The suicidal intention *previous* to the murder is easily inferable. (3) The murder takes place *apart* from the poor wretch's asylum and *without* his

was not Boccaccio's only source. S. L. Wolff, *Modern Philology*, April, 1910, has promised a study showing additional sources.

knowledge. (6) The searchers merely find the man under suspicious circumstances, and have his confession of the crime. (7) After the reunion the Egyptian is happily repatriated and restored to affluence.

But the greatest likeness of all between Elyot's account and the original is (8) the manifest purpose for which the story is told. In *Petrus* the story is purely an exemplum, "*de integro amico*." The Egyptian has long been rearing the noble damsel for his own wife. But just as she becomes marriageable, he gives her up without a murmur to his friend. The sacrifice to friendship is genuine, as great as he could make. He remains unmated for good and all. In the same way, Elyot's Gysippus loves Sophronia, "*as moche as any wise man mought possible*," but he makes the supreme sacrifice of giving her to his friend willingly and cheerfully, fully aware of the cost to him in public character⁹ and private happiness. He never ventures his love again. In Boccaccio and Beroaldo, on the other hand, the purpose to exemplify friendship is only superficial. Love is the dominating interest. Gysippus confesses he can readily change his love to another.¹⁰ He is declared not only not to love Sophronia but scarcely to know her.¹¹ His giving her up then is no sacrifice or trial, but only a favor conferred in the interest of friendship, with little thought or heed of the consequences.¹² Accordingly the story progresses to a very different ending. He is rewarded with a real love and enjoys the highest conjugal felicity. In brief summary, Sir Thomas Elyot found the

⁹ "I knowe well that, ye hauinge your purpose, I shall be in obloqui and derision of all men, and so hated of all my kynrede, that they shall seke occasion to expulse me out of this citie, thinkyng me to be a notable reproche to al my familie."

¹⁰ "Et io il mio amore legghiermente ad un' altra volgendo, avrò te e me contentato," and, "Et ego amorem meum non sanè difficulter in alteram transferens et tibi et mihi satisfecero."

¹¹ "Il vostro ad un giovane, il quale, non solamente non l'amava, ma appena la cognosceva," and, "Vos juveni Sophroniam despondistis illam non solum non amanti sed paene fastidienti."

¹² "Poi a luogo et a tempo manifesteremo il fatto; il quale, se lor piacerà, bene starà; se non piacerà, sarà pur fatto, e non potendo indietro tornare, converrà per forza che sien contenti," and, "Et cum id quod factum est fieri infectum non possit, necessum erit ut illi, velint nolint, rem ipsam approbare cogantur."

story in Petrus Alphonsus(-i) an exemplum, whence it had widely departed in Boccaccio and Beroaldo, and restored it to its original character.

Elyot's divergencies from the Italian or fifteenth century Latin account may have been of his own invention. But the gain in artistic value or moral effect from the changes is not always apparent. An additional source is probable, and the original story of Petrus is sufficient to supply it. Furthermore, none of the versions that have been pointed out, between the *Disciplina* and the appearance of the *Governour*,¹³ are so satisfying as possible sources as the original. None show the distinguishing marks of the Elyot story. Those that bear striking resemblances in distinctive elements come after Elyot, and hence are to be regarded rather as derivatives of his work.¹⁴

Elyot certainly must have been aware of the existence of the *Disciplina*. Chaucer knew it, and apparently used it first-hand,¹⁵ and the story in the *Gesta Romanorum* was confessedly taken from it. Elyot cannot have been ignorant of such as these. And humanist as he was, would he have been content, being aware of the original, not to know it first-hand, or to take his material indirectly through a vulgar tongue? Moreover, the character of the work, the instruction of a father to a son,—Chaucer quoted it for its moral import—was such as would have stimulated him to know it in the preparation of a work like the *Governour*.

There is a lack of information on Elyot's life, but it seems that he was not abroad until immediately after the publication of the *Governour*. In fact, it was the recognition of his book and the influence of the Queen, which sent him to the continent on a diplomatic mission the following year. But the *Disciplina* was almost certainly easily accessible to him in England. It was enormously popular in Europe from the twelfth to the sixteenth century. As many as sixty manuscripts of it have been preserved,¹⁶ a fourth of which number are found in England. Furthermore, there is con-

¹³ *Le Chastement d'un père à son fils, Athis et Proflias, Gesta Romanorum, Alphabet of Tales, Lydgate, Cantimpre, etc.*; the list is long.

¹⁴ The versions of Edward Lewicke, M. Montanus, the poet of the Percy Folio Manuscript, and the like.

¹⁵ In the *Tale of Melibeus* Chaucer quotes from the *Disciplina* not fewer than five times.

¹⁶ See A. Hilka and W. Söderhjelm, *Die Disciplina*, u. s. w., Einleitung.

clusive evidence of its popularity on the island, in the fifteenth-century translation of thirty stories of its total content, in the Worcester Cathedral manuscript, recently discovered by Professor W. H. Hulme.¹⁷ Indeed there is no difficulty in the way of Sir Thomas Elyot's knowing the works of the learned Petrus.

Mr. S. L. Wolff, in working out his theory that the plot of *Euphues: the Anatomy of Wit* was derived from the story of Titus and Gysippus in Boccaccio,¹⁸ says, "I find no evidence that Lyly drew from either of them," that is, Elyot or Beroaldo. Indeed there is strong probability that Lyly constructed his narrative, if so slight a framework may be so called, from the Titus and Gysippus material, and Mr. Wolff in pointing out the fact is to be credited with having directed attention to an important matter in literary history. But while Lyly's structural obligations to Boccaccio were perhaps very direct and specific, there does not appear to be any very clear reason for the assumption that he took his plan solely from the Italian. It is more probable that his source was a double one, as was Elyot's apparently, and that he used both Boccaccio—or Beroaldo, or both—and Elyot.

Mr. Wolff's evidence deduced from specific passages purporting to show in Lyly phrasal resemblances to Boccaccio is not very conclusive. Lyly covers his tracks too well, his stylistic qualities are too emphatically derived elsewhere, for much profit from a study of the kind. An appeal to the larger argument, in my judgment, would strengthen the case greatly.

Twice Lyly refers to the story of Titus and Gysippus, the second time in a way that indicates the interpretation he is making of the relationship of the two men. The distinction in the separate rôles was not always understood by the medieval writer, as Lyly understood and indicated it. Sir Thomas Elyot had preserved the old notion of the exemplum by keeping intact the theme of the incorruptible friendship. Conjugal happiness rightly resulted from it for the one youth and the "peace of a quiet mind" for the other. Each esteemed friendship first. Gysippus sacrificed everything to it, and Titus requited as fully as the occasion de-

¹⁷ See *Modern Philology*, 1906, vol. iv, p. 67; *Modern Language Notes*, 1909, vol. xxiv, p. 218; and *Western Reserve University Bulletin*, vol. xxii.

¹⁸ *Modern Philology*, 1910, vii, p. 577.

manded, although simple gratitude and honor would have required as much. On the contrary, Boccaccio, repeated in Beroaldo, had treated the story, on a somewhat lower ethical plane, mainly for the love interest, by never really allowing love and friendship to clash, and had rewarded the friends jointly, whose ties had not been severed, by granting them marital joys alike in the end.

Lyly apparently took his cue from the Italian, or the Latin of Beroaldo, as indicated in his declaration, "Titus must lust after Sempronia, Gysippus must leave her," but being a good humanist at the time, as became his birth, training, and identification with the house of Burleigh, he decided to treat the old well-known relationship of the two men in a way to exemplify with Elyot the friendship thesis but to do so by showing the disasters that follow when friendship is sacrificed to love. In brief, he deliberately planned to maintain the same moral idea as Elyot but to develop his action by having the crucial decisions made in accordance with the dictates of love not friendship. His figures accordingly adopt and follow opposite courses from Elyot's. Gysippus, who is pre-eminently the impersonation of unselfishness, the real "*integer amicus*," becomes Philautus or self-love. Euphues, who plays the part of Titus, is endowed with the well-recognized 'happy gift of nature' associated with the word: in fact, the natural impulses predominate in him to the complete loss of all moral and ethical considerations. Neither man, for his character and conduct in the ordeal of love, can be rewarded with domestic happiness.

Lyly extends his use to the particular elements. The parts of his plan, as well, he often develops from some hint or generalization to his purpose among the details in Boccaccio and Beroaldo. When Titus is approached in his sickness by Gysippus, he offers many excuses or evasions, none of which are given specifically, in order to postpone as long as possible the disclosure of his unfortunate love for Sophronia. From the suggestion Lyly develops Euphues's open "falsehood in fellowship" and "fraud in friendship" of protesting love for Livia, one of the gentlewomen in the household of Don Ferardo, when in reality he is consumed with passion for Lucilla. From Gysippus's generous assurance to Titus that he, Titus, is a worthier judge of Sophronia's perfections than himself, Lyly portrays in Euphues a vain superiority over Philautus as a discriminator of feminine beauty and excellence, from

which advantage he arrogates to himself the fair object of their rivalry. Again, in the famous oration to the kindred Titus declares that if any injury has been done in the marriage, Sophronia is to blame for not demanding of him who and what he was. From this declaration, in order to satisfy the demands of the later public, Lyly develops Lucilla's responsibility in the erotic scheme, which holds in defiance all the laws of amity. With surprising fickleness of character, she as speedily rejects Euphues as she has forsaken Philautus, and fixes her choice on a third, without reason even to herself and in contempt of all, and rapidly sinks into unnatural degradation,—all for the sake of maintaining the didactic plan.

Lyly's treatment makes the second part of the story, the requital of the sacrifice to friendship, impossible, inasmuch as there has been no approach to anything of the kind. So when the three years are over—Lyly's first care is not for his story anyway—Euphues must return home alone, Philautus can remain in his native city and pursue his self-centred career, without either the trials or reward of a noble life, Lucilla must be recoverable to neither, and the story as such is ended.

The plausibility of Lyly's having adopted his larger idea in the *Euphues* from Sir Thomas Elyot's treatment of the old material of the two friends is further increased by a reminder of the manifest continuity of humanism in England through the great leaders, from More through Ascham and Elyot to Lyly.

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THE TERM "METAPHYSICAL POETS" BEFORE JOHNSON

Mixed with the flood of very wide-spread disapproval which followed Dr. Samuel Johnson's application (in his *Life of Cowley*, 1779) of the term "metaphysical" to a rather haphazardly chosen group of poets,¹ and with the various attempts to determine just

¹ For such adverse opinions, see G. B. Hill, "Cowley," in his edition of Johnson's *Lives* (Oxford, 1905), I, 68, who quotes Wordsworth: "... whom Johnson has strangely styled metaphysical poets"; Southey: "The designation is not fortunate"; etc. The *Quarterly Review* for Oct., 1814,

what he meant by the word, are also to be found several brief endeavors to discover his source.² Practically all writers on the subject, however, have been satisfied with mentioning Spence's *Anecdotes* or Dryden's "Original and Progress of Satire," and then dismissing the matter. Courthope, for instance,³ asserts dogmatically that "Johnson, who is generally credited with the invention of this name, borrowed it from Pope. He had seen the MS. of Spence's 'Anecdotes,' etc. Hill states that "Johnson may have borrowed the word from Dryden"; quotes the passage; and then goes on to say, "If we could be sure that Johnson had seen Spence's *Anecdotes* before he finished the *Life of Cowley* (in July, 1778, *John. Letters*, ii, 68), he might have borrowed the word from Spence. . . ." This difference of opinion is perhaps based on S. W. Singer's statement in his edition of Spence that "when Dr. Johnson was engaged to write the *Lives of the Poets*, application was made to the Duke of Newcastle, by Sir Lucas Pepys, for the loan of his manuscript, and it was conceded to his use in the most liberal manner."⁴

But, whatever the date on which the manuscript of Spence came into Johnson's possession, was it necessary for him to have been acquainted with it, or even—the case is purely hypothetical—to have known Dryden's phrase? It is the purpose of this note to show that it was not; that, in other words, the use of the term "metaphysical" in connection with certain poets or with certain types and styles of poetry was far from uncommon in the seven-

vol. XII, p. 80, has—"as they have improperly been called." More recently, J. M. Berdan in his "Introduction" to the *Poems of Cleveland* (New York, 1903), p. 10, speaks of the poets whom Johnson "so unhappily" called "metaphysical." Others, such as Dowden, in *New Studies in Literature* (London, 1902), p. 92, and Schelling, in *English Literature during the Lifetime of Shakespeare* (New York, 1910), p. 367, deny the existence of any "metaphysical school" at all.

²The most important of these are Hill's, *op. cit.*, I, 68; F. E. Schelling's, in his "Introduction" to *A Book of Seventeenth Century Lyrics* (Boston, 1899), pp. xxiv-vii; H. J. C. Grierson's, in his "Commentary" on the *Poems of John Donne* (Oxford, 1912), II, 1; and W. J. Courthope's, in his "Life of Pope," *Works of Pope* (London, 1889), v, 51.

³For quotations from Courthope and Hill, see preceding note.

⁴"Preface," Spence's *Anec.* (London, 1820), p. xi. This was the first appearance of the *Anecdotes* in print.

teenth and eighteenth centuries, and that therefore there were various sources from which Johnson might have got the suggestion for his phrase, altho probably the responsibility was mainly Dryden's.

The earliest writer known to have used the term with a poetical application was the Italian poet Testi (1593-1646), who, with Marino especially in mind, defended his preference of classical to Italian models thus:

. . . poichè lasciando quei concetti metaphysici ed ideali di cui sono piene le poesie italiane, mi sono provato di spiegare cose più domestiche. . . .⁵

The passage in Dryden containing the idea is almost too well-known to be quoted, and yet perhaps may be given for the sake of completeness. In 1693, Dryden, speaking of John Donne, said that the latter

affects the metaphysics, . . . and perplexes the minds of the fair sex with nice speculations of philosophy, when he should engage their hearts.⁶

Leonard Welsted, in 1724, made a chance reference to metaphysics in connection with Cowley, undoubtedly the best-known member of the so-called "Metaphysical School":

With respect to Metaphysical Knowledge, no Body, I am perswaded, will contend much for the Usefulness of it: Mr. Cowley, I think, has said, that he never could determine certainly, whether there was any Truth or no in that Science; but he was either too hasty in this Judgment, or he had not entered into the finest

⁵ Quoted by Grierson, *Donne*, II, 1.

⁶ Dryden, "Orig. and Prog. of Sat.", *Essays* (ed. Ker, Oxford, 1900), II, 19. Within a single year, Sir Thomas Pope Blount, in his "Donne," *De Re Poetica* (London, 1694), pp. 67-9, had quoted the passage. An interesting predecessor to the idea in Dryden's passage, tho not to the words, appeared in [Richard Graham, Viscount Preston], *Angliae Speculum Morale* (London, 1669), pp. 68-70: (Many present poets "strive to bring wit . . . under logical Notions; arguing syllogistically and troubling the world with volumes of what is impertinent to it; that they may advance their own names, so turning our delight into trouble. 'Tis a pity that men of these abilities should not ennoble some of those great subjects which our Nation yieldeth: but should spend their time praising an Eye, or Feature, which they may see exceeded at any Countrey Wake." We have become effeminate, "we spin amongst the Women.")

Parts of it; but however that may be, let us add to it Natural Philosophy, and what do they both together serve for, further than Curiosity and Amusement?⁷

Certainly the most interesting, if not the most important, uses of the word with due credit to Dryden, are to be found in John Oldmixon's *Arts of Logick and Rhetorick* (1728), a liberal translation (almost a paraphrase, in fact, with most of the illustrations from English authors) of *La manière de bien penser dans les ouvrages d'esprit* (1687), by Father Dominique Bouhours, a French divine and critic whose opinions were respected in England perhaps next to those of Boileau himself. Speaking of "the false Brillant [*sic*] of Thoughts," Oldmixon wrote:

Thus it was that Dr. *Donne* and Mr. *Cowley*, confounded Metaphysics and Love, and turn'd Wit into Point. . . .

The noble Critick [Lord Lansdowne, in his "Unnatural Flights in Poetry"; Lansdowne uses no names, however] plainly alludes to the punning Sermons in the Reign of King *James I.* and the Metaphysical Love-Verses by which *Donne* and *Cowley* acquir'd so much Fame.⁸

And again, in a fairly extended passage on Sprat, Cowley, Donne, and Felton:

Dryden tells us, in his Preface to *Juvenal*, that *Cowley* copy'd Dr. *Donne* to a Fault in his Metaphysicks, which his love Verses abound with. . . .⁹

There is apparently no basis for these statements in Bouhours himself.

In 1729, Elijah Fenton, in his *Observations on Some of Mr. Waller's Poems*, brought together both Donne and Cowley in a paragraph which was clearly based on Dryden:

The latter Stanza of these verses [in Waller's song beginning "Stay, Phoebus, stay!"] alludes to the *Copernican* system. . . . Dr. *Donne* and Mr. *Cowley* industriously affected to entertain the

* "Dissertation concerning the Perfection of the English Language, the State of Poetry, etc.," in Durham, *Critical Essays of the XVIIIth Century* (New Haven, 1915), p. 381. Durham has failed to discover that this is merely a reference to a passage in Cowley's essay, "Of Agriculture."

* Oldmixon, "Dedication," *Arts of Log. and Rhet.* (London, 1728), pp. vi-vii.

* *Ibid.*, p. 309.

fair sex with such philosophical allusions; which in his riper age Mr. Waller as industriously avoided.¹⁰

Chronologically, Pope was probably the next important link in the historical chain. According to Spence, somewhere about 1734-6 Pope was responsible for these remarks:

Davenant . . . is a scholar of Donne's, and he took his sententiousness and metaphysics from him.—P. . . .

Cowley is a fine poet, in spite of all his faults.—He, as well as Davenant, borrowed his metaphysical style from Donne.—Sprat a worse Cowley.—P.¹¹

These seem to have been Pope's only contributions to the series. However, when Warburton brought out his edition of Pope in 1751, he used the word "metaphysical" in discussing the "Rape of the Lock," applying it to the machinery of an epic:

As the *civil* part is intentionally debased by the choice of an insignificant action, so should the *metaphysical* by the use of some very extravagant system.¹²

In the course of one of his *Letters to His Son*, dated Feb. 8, O. S., 1750, Lord Chesterfield came to one of his frequent discussions of Italian poetry. He approved of Tasso and Ariosto, but cared little for Dante, Petrarch, and others.

The *Pastor Fido* of Guarini is so celebrated, that you should read it; but in reading it, you will judge of the great propriety of the characters. A parcel of shepherds and shepherdesses, with TRUE PASTORAL SIMPLICITY, talk metaphysics, epigrams, *concelli*, and quibbles, by the hour to each other.

He concluded, as he had done before, by recommending Bouhours to his son.¹³

Another remark of similar tendency was made by Joseph Warton in his *Essay on the Writings and Genius of Pope* (1756), a remark which very possibly was indebted to Spence's *Anecdotes*, since Warton made use of them, in manuscript, in his biography:

¹⁰ See *The Works of Edmund Waller, Esq., in Verse and Prose*. Published by Mr. Fenton (London, 1730), p. lxi.

¹¹ *Anec.*, pp. 170, 173.

¹² Warburton's *Pope* (London, 1757), I, 169; this passage is referred to by Hill in his discussion, *loc. cit.*

¹³ *Letters* (N. Y., 1917), I, 293-5.

And indeed to speak the truth, there appears to be little valuable in Petrarch, except the purity of his diction. His sentiments even of love, are metaphysical and far fetched. . . .¹⁴

The words of the same critic, too, in his own edition of Pope in 1797 may help to clear up the genealogy of Johnson's primary source:

It were to be wished that all the critical opinions of Dr. Johnson were as solid and judicious as are his admirable observations, in the Life of Cowley, on mixt Metaphors, false Wit, and what (after Dryden) he calls "Metaphysical Poetry."¹⁵

Likewise, in an anonymous *Dialogue on Taste*, written before 1762, occurred a rather elaborate discussion of the progress of taste from the Middle Ages to the middle of the eighteenth century. In this discussion is found a treatment of the metaphysical wit of the Middle Ages, of the bad effect of the imitation of Dante, Ariosto, and Petrarch in England, of the "strained conceits" of Sidney, and of the retardation of poetry by metaphysics. The most important part of the passage follows:

At last the Revolution [of 1688] . . . Metaphysics, now no longer necessary in support of opinions which were now no longer useful in the acquisition of power and riches, sunk by degrees into contempt; and Nature having at last shewn her true and beautiful face, poetry, from acting the part of a magic lanthorn teeming with monsters and chimeras, resumed her genuine province, like the camera obscura, of reflecting the things that are.¹⁶

At least one other reference occurred before the appearance of

¹⁴Warton, *Essay on . . . Pope* (London, 1756), p. 66. It is therefore very probable that Thomas Warton, in the third volume of his *History of English Poetry*, 1781 (the first volume appeared in 1774, altho apparently written by 1769), was echoing his brother rather than Johnson when he wrote (London, 1840: Sec. XXXVII, III, 30): "In the sonnets of Surrey, we are surprised to find nothing of that metaphysical cast which marks the Italian poets . . . , especially Petrarch. . . ." Moreover, T. Warton's sentiments, rather than Johnson's, were reflected before 1787 by Vicesimus Knox, in his *Essays, Moral and Literary* (London, 1787), II, 348, 351. J. Warton himself in the second volume of his *Essay*, 1782 (London, 1806, p. 349), stated that "Dryden was the first who called him [Donne] a metaphysical poet."

¹⁵Warton, *Works of Alexander Pope*, VI, 235 n.

¹⁶A *Dialogue on Taste*. . . The Second Edition. London: . . . MDCCLXII, p. 66.

Johnson's "Life." This was in George Campbell's *Philosophy of Rhetoric*, published in 1776, which contained the following illustration under the section "Want of meaning—the learned":

Of the same kind of school-metaphysics are these lines of Cowley:

Nothing is there to *come*, and nothing *past*,
But an eternal *now* does always last.

What an unsatiable appetite has this bastard philosophy for absurdity and contradiction!¹⁷

The field, then, it will be admitted, had been pretty well prepared when, in 1778, Dr. Johnson set his pen to paper and wrote his famous sentence:

About the beginning of the seventeenth century appeared a race of writers that may be termed the metaphysical poets.

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THE CALL OF THE BLOOD IN THE MEDIAEVAL GERMAN EPIC

Literature, as we are well aware, is determined by social forces, and clearly reflects the civilization of its own and preceding times. One of the greatest differences between modern literature and that of mediæval times is the difference in the emphasis which is placed upon blood-relationship. While the literature of to-day deals with the individual, the mediæval German epic deals with the closely connected kin group. Every page of this early literature breathes a tale of the importance of blood-relationship, and in the course of its narrative the typical epic presents a family genealogy of astonishing extent and complexity. In so doing, the epic faithfully reflects the social organization of the mediæval world, in which man, as an individual, scarcely existed. On the one hand there is a complete absence of individual liberty in mediæval society, offset on the other by a remarkable community of interest and purpose. Individuality in those days was submerged in the *Sippe*, the larger kin group. The tie of blood,

¹⁷ Campbell, *Phil. of Rhet.* (London, 1776), II, 81-2.

of so slight importance to us, involved the question of life and death itself. Organized on the principle of one for all and all for one, all the members of the kindred answered for the misdeeds of a single member, for they were regarded as almost equally guilty; or they all joined in the defence or avenging of a single member against the aggressions of others. Thus it is that the various members of the kin group were regarded much as we regard the members of a single living body.

A picturesque phase of this emphasis upon kin is the belief in the potency of the blood to reveal itself; that even those who, upon meeting, are entirely unconscious of any tie of kinship are inevitably and irresistibly drawn together by the cry of the common blood. The German epics return repeatedly to this theme. Thus, in *Bitrolf und Dietleib*, the hearts of father and son respond to their unknown relationship. Dietleib has set out to search for his father who had left home when the son was but two years old. They meet, unknown to each other, at Etzel's court.

Sin vater saz ouch da zehant.
der knabe was im unbekant,
ouch erkande er sines vater niht.
swa ieman sippefriunt siht,
wart ers mit künde niht gewar,
in treit iedoch das herze dar.

(3319 ff.)

A later reference is made to this relationship:

daz sich Bitrolf und sin suon
nie mohten kunt getuon,
ez enhaete ir herze daz geseit
den kûenen recken vil gemeit
dazs einander solden wesen holt.
swie siz niht haeten versolt,
si wehselten doch dicke
vil gûetliche blicke.

(4077 ff.)

In Gottfried's *Tristan* neither Marke nor his sister's son, Tristan, knows at their meeting who the other is, but a tropes of the blood draws them irresistibly to each other:

nu Tristan den kûnec sehen began,
er begunde im wol gevallen.
vor den andern allen
sin herze in sunder uz erlas,
wan er von sinem bluote was:
diu nature zoh in dar.

(3238 ff.)

And thruout the epic the attraction of the uncle to the nephew is pictured even more strongly.

Priamus, in the *Trojanische Krieg*, is powerfully drawn to his son who is unknown to him:

in lerte diu nature daz
und der sippescheffe reht,
daz im der junge süeze kneht
wart übermaezeclichen trut.
swie Priamus niht über lut
erkande, daz er was sin kint,
doch truoc er im an underbint
gar innecliche friuntschaft,
wan sippebluot daz hat die kraft,
daz ez vil kume sich verhilt.
ez lachet magen unde spilt
engegen durch der ougen türe
und machet iemer sich her füre,
swa friunt gesitzet friunde bi.
swie tiefe ez da verborgen si,
ez wirt ze liehte schiere braht:
da von der künec was verdaht
uf Parisen deste me.
ez was sin sun von rehter e,
des truoc in diu nature dar
uf den juncherren wunnevar
und spilt im allez tougen
engegen durch diu ougen.
Im seite sin gemüete,
daz an in beiden blüete
der waren sippescheffe fruht.

(3204 ff.)

Similarly, Paris' grandfather, Lamedon, feels the relationship at sight:

do Paris kam ze hove dar
and in Lamedon ersach,
do truoc er vröudenrich gemach
von des juncherren güete.
im seite ouch sin gemüete,
daz er im sippe waere.

(4694 ff.)

Valentin, in *Valentin und Namelos*, defends his mother Phila, not knowing her identity. In the words of the poet,

aldar schen der naturen kraft
unde der elementen macht.

(1619 f.)

Arriving at Artus' court, Wigalois, in the epic of that name, is liked by all, especially by his unknown father Gawan. They feel the cry of their common blood:

ir geselleschaft diu was guot
beidiu ir herze unde ir muot
warn einander heimlich,
deiswar, daz was billich,
sit si eines libes waren.
ir ougen des niht verbaren
sine lacheten ofte einander an.

In *Wilhelm von Wenden*, the father has sold his two sons in their infancy. When these brothers meet later in life unknown to each other, their common blood speaks to them:

ietweder an den andern sach.
ir muot, ir geliche jach
friuntschaft an dem andern.
ir unkuntliches wandern
daz sie vor heten getan,
ir sorge truoc uf fröuden ban,
unkuntlicher sippe kraft
brahte in werder liebe haft
dise edeln vrien jungen,
daz ir herze zesamen rungen.
ieglicher bi im selben jach,
so lieben friunt er nie gesach
und bi dem er gerner waere.

(4922 ff.)

These two brothers are forced, because of their need, to practice robbery in the forest. The father, who by chance is appointed by the queen of the land to investigate the robberies, arrives suddenly and unexpectedly in their camp, where he confronts them. Even in this exceedingly tense situation, and with a psychology which to us is strikingly false, parent and sons feel the call of their common blood! Springing up in the greatest fear, the two sons nevertheless stand as tho banned, for

ieglicher mit im selben jach
daz er nie man so gerne gesach.
diu nature seite in daz.
Willalm in sinen sinnen maz
mit warer liebe phlihte.
sinen ougen ze gesihte

nie kamen zwene junge man
die in duhten so wol getan
die er so gerne ie gesach.

(6083 ff.)

As they sit and talk,

Willehalm, dem was also
er enwurde von herzen nie so vro;
also daz in diu maere
hete wunder, wavon daz waere,
wannen im diu fröude kaeme,
diu im swaere so gar benaeme.

(6113 ff.)

It is interesting to contrast the viewpoint we have been considering with that of modern literature, with its reflection of an entirely different social structure. Since those early times a great change has taken place. As early as the sixth century the organization of society in Europe in kin groups had begun to disintegrate, and by the twelfth to the fourteenth century these had entirely crumbled away. More or less concomitant with this outer change, an inner transformation has taken place. While the individual has been gradually loosened from the closely woven social fabric in which he had been enmeshed, a strong and persistent current has widened, deepened and intensified the inner life of the individual, accentuating his independence and freedom of thought,—a development which has culminated in the scientific and philosophic achievement of the present day.

The meeting of unknown relatives is not a rare motif in modern literature. It receives probably its most modern treatment at the hands of that most typically modern German poet, Lessing. His thoughtful drama, *Nathan der Weise*, is the story of a family the members of which have become scattered, meet unknown, and are finally reunited.

Adventure and love lead the Sultan's brother, Assad, to Europe, where he marries a Christian wife and becomes a Christian knight under the name Wolf von Filnek. Leaving their son behind in the care of a maternal uncle, the wife accompanies the knight back to Palestine, where she dies upon birth of a daughter. The father himself dies shortly after in battle, having just before his death confided his motherless infant to the care of the friendly Jew, Nathan, who rears the child as his own daughter. Assad's

son, having become a Templar, proceeds to Palestine, where he is captured by the Mohemmedans and condemned to death. At the critical moment of the execution the Sultan Saladin, who is in reality the paternal uncle, is struck by what he takes to be the prisoner's accidental resemblance to his own long lost brother Assad, and, following the impulse of the moment, pardons him.

In this incident as pictured by Lessing there is not the slightest trace of blood attraction. It is merely a matter of the recognition of physical resemblance. How strong the Templar's resemblance to his father is, we learn from Nathan, who has known the father, and who, after the first meeting with the Templar, ejaculates:

Nicht allein
 Wolfs Wuchs, Wolfs Gang, auch seine Stimme. So,
 Volkommen so, warf Wolf sogar den Kopf,
 Trug Wolf sogar das Schwert im Arm, strich Wolf
 Sogar die Augenbraunen mit der Hand,
 Gleichsam das Feuer seines Blicks zu bergen. (1390 f.)

How entirely natural this recognition of resemblance is conceived to be we also learn from the mouth of Nathan:

Warum hätte Saladin,
 Der sein Geschwister insgesamt so liebt,
 In jüngern Jahren einen Bruder nicht
 Noch ganz besonders lieben können?—Pfleger
 Sich zwei Gesichter nicht zu ähneln?—Ist
 Ein alter Eindruck ein verlornen?—Wirkt
 Das Nämliche nicht mehr das Nämliche?—
 Seit wenn?—Wo steckt hier das Unglaubliche?—
 Ei freilich, weise Daja, wär's für dich
 Kein Wunder mehr. (259 f.)

In the mediæval epic this uncle and nephew would have been strongly attracted to each other at once, and even without the motivation of resemblance would have felt their kinship. In Lessing's drama, altho the nephew's resemblance to his father is so striking as to stir the emotions of the Sultan and to prompt him to spare the Templar's life, neither character is drawn towards the other nor does either form the faintest notion that they may be related. The Sultan's emotional impulse is solely in recollection of his brother, and his indifference to the Templar is shown by his promptly ignoring and forgetting the man whose life he has spared (1357 ff., 2090 ff.).

We find a further illustration in this same drama in the meeting of the Templar and his unknown sister Recha. When all human help appears impossible, she is suddenly rescued from Nathan's burning house by a stranger, the Knight Templar. Here again there is no trace of blood attraction. "*Kalt und ungerührt*" are the adjectives used to describe how, amid the cries of thanks, he leaves his prize, passes thru the wondering crowd, and disappears. Having performed his deed of heroism solely thru an instinctive feeling of duty, the Templar proudly holds aloof from every expression of thanks, and refuses even to see again the girl whom he has rescued. Now if in anyone, then certainly in Recha, with her keen woman's intuition, we should expect to find some sensing of the relationship existing between them, but thruout the play there is no such intimation. She feels an unlimited gratitude toward her savior, and at first even accepts her rescue as a miracle performed by God thru an angel. In her soul there are, however, no other feelings nor motives than a passionate thankfulness. Having seen and thanked the Templar, Recha is perfectly calm again, is indeed herself puzzled

wie

Auf einen solchen Sturm in ihrem Herzen
So eine Stille plötzlich folgen könne.

(1711 ff.)

and Daja even refers to Recha's attitude as cold (1730 f.). So entirely free is the sister from any touch of love for the Templar that she even fails to observe or understand the flaming love she has aroused in him (Act III, Scene III, 1692 ff.), or to understand the allusions to her own supposed love which are made by Nathan (Act II, Sc. iv, 1160 ff.), by Daja (Act III, Sc. III, 1695 ff.), and again by Saladin (Act V, Sc. VIII, 3670 ff.). And when at the meeting in Saladin's place it is revealed that the Templar and Recha are brother and sister, she rushes to him at once with the joyful cry: "Ah! mein Bruder!" For there has been no love in her bosom to cause now a revulsion of feelings upon this startling revelation.

The subterranean working of the blood need not be invoked to explain the fact that the Templar, on the other hand, falls in love with Recha upon visiting her. It is no more probable that the blood would urge him to love his unknown sister than that it would warn him against an incestuous relationship. Some critics do, indeed,

ascribe the Templar's love to the misunderstood call of the blood,¹ but this is not Lessing. They have failed to understand the author's purpose and to grasp his motivation. Altho the Templar's is an ardent love, it is of a distinctly different type from that of Faust for Gretchen. It is Nathan's idealism in Recha which captivates him. So completely does the youthful and enthusiastic Templar fall under the spell of Nathan's nobility of soul and his broadminded and lofty humanitarianism, that when Nathan, at the end of their first interview, once more urges the Templar to see the girl he has been scorning, the youth replies:

Ich brenne vor Verlangen.

(1323)

In a piece of clear self-analysis which occurs in a monolog in the fifth act, the Templar recognizes the root of his love as springing from the fact that Recha is Nathan's creation:

Geschöpf?

Und wessen?—Doch des Sklaven nicht, der auf
Des Lebens öden Strand den Block geflösst
Und sich davon gemacht? Des Künstlers doch
Wohl mehr, der in dem hingeworfnen Blocke
Die göttliche Gestalt sich dachte, die
Er dargestellt?—Ach! Rechas wahrer Vater
Bleibt, trotz dem Christen, der sie zeugte—bleibt
In Ewigkeit der Jude. Wenn ich mir
Sie lediglich als Christendirne denke,
Sie sonder alles das mir denke, was
Allein ihr so ein Jude geben könnte—
Sprich, Herz,—was wär an ihr, das dir gefiel?
Nichts! Wenig! Selbst ihr Lächeln, wär' es nichts
Als sanfte schöne Zuckung ihrer Muskeln.
Wär' was sie lächeln macht, des Reizes unwert,
In den es sich auf ihrem Munde kleidet:—
Nein, selbst ihr Lächeln nicht! Ich hab' es ja
Wohl schöner noch an Aberwitz, an Tand,
Höhnerei, an Schmeichler und an Buhler,
Verschwenden sehn!—Hat's da mich auch bezaubert?
Hat's da mir auch den Wunsch entlockt, mein Leben
In seinem Sonnenscheine zu verflattern?
Ich wüsste nicht!

(3243 ff.)

The Templar's love for Recha thus symbolizes the victory of the noble principles for which Nathan stands, just as the final re-

¹ Kettner, *Lessings Dramen*, 399 ff.; Witkowski, *Lessings Werke*, II, 246.

uniting of the entire family symbolizes the harmonizing of the religions of which the various family members are representatives, on the basis of tolerance and common humanity. It is because of the ideal tinge to this love that the Templar, and we with him, do not recoil too violently when Nathan reveals that the Templar and Recha are brother and sister. Otherwise, our feelings at such an outcome would be distinctly unpleasant. There is naturally a strong clash of emotions in the Templar's breast at so startling a revelation, but after a short struggle he is able to turn to Nathan with the remark:

Ihr nehmt und gebt mir, Nathan!
 Mit vollen Händen beides!—Nein! Ihr gebt
 Mir mehr, als Ihr mir nehmt! unendlich mehr!
 Ah meine Schwester! meine Schwester! (3803 ff.)

It must be explicitly pointed out that none of these family members had suspected that they were related. The suspicion arose only in the mind of a third party, Nathan, and the fact is established not by the voice of the blood but by outside documentary evidence.

Our conviction that Lessing would answer with a categorical "No!" the question as to whether there is a blood attraction between relatives is further strengthened by the author's clear pronouncement in the case of the deep and genuine reciprocal love between Recha and her foster-parent Nathan. When Recha, in her great anguish over the fear of losing a father in Nathan, cries out:

Aber macht denn nur das Blut
 Den Vater? nur das Blut? (3654 f.)

thru the mouth of the Sultan Lessing gives the modern answer to her question:

—das Blut, das Blut allein
 Macht lange noch den Vater nicht! macht kaum
 Den Vater eines Tieres, gibt zum höchsten
 Das erste Recht, sich diesen Namen zu
 Erwerben! (3662 ff.)

Here is a clear expression of our modern view that the blood is not the essential in human relationships,—that true relationship springs from relation,—is more essentially a matter of post-natal association than of pre-natal, physiological facts. Altho we

still yield a measure of allegiance to the weakening tradition of the natural fondness of kin, we of to-day clearly realize that there is no mystical attraction of the blood, no tropesis which irresistibly draws relatives together. The tie between parent and child, brother and sister, uncle and nephew is the tie of affection resultant from association, plus, usually, a kindly disposition springing from an intellectual interest in the fact that the relative is of our descent; but it is nothing more. There may be a certain measure of compatibility, or, indeed, of incompatibility, due to similarity of temperament and inherited characteristics. It must be granted that the features of a relative, at a meeting incognito, might well set echoes reverberating in the mind and heart by their dim suggestion of some loved one. But if physical resemblance did not assist in recognition, a meeting of a parent and child, or of a brother and sister unknown to each other would ordinarily be a matter of utter indifference on each side. The discovery of kinship would impart an intellectual interest which might be pleasant or unpleasant according to the circumstances.

Thus our viewpoint, in keeping with the social and scientific tendencies of the times, has shifted radically from that of the mediæval German epic. To us the viewpoint of the epic is false and exaggerated. It cannot be entirely explained as a phase of the crude hyperbole which characterizes the mediæval epic, for it flows naturally from the emphasis which the times placed upon kin. A society which looks upon the members of the *Sippe* as the members of a single organic body but naturally entertains the belief that blood is potent to find its way to blood. How primitive this viewpoint is, is a question that cannot be entered into here. It is interesting to note that no trace of such belief is to be found in the much earlier *Hildebrandslied*, where the inability of the son to recognize the father leads to deadly combat. It is a viewpoint which seems particularly characteristic of the mediæval world, and may have been influenced by the Christianity and mysticism of that period.

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AN EARLY EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ENTHUSIAST FOR PRIMITIVE POETRY: JOHN HUSBANDS

A Miscellany of Poems, collected by a person of the name of Husbands, was published at Oxford in 1731. In that Miscellany, Johnson's Translation of the Messiah appeared, with this modest motto from Scaliger's Poetics, *Ex alieno ingenio Poeta, ex suo tantum versificator*.

This brief statement of Boswell's,¹ supplemented by a few details assembled by later students of Johnson,² represents all that even specialists have thought worth knowing concerning John Husbands. Yet he deserves a larger place in literary history than has so far been accorded him; for in addition to being the first editor of Johnson, he was a pioneer, and a singularly enthusiastic one at that, in the great movement of curiosity about the poetry of primitive peoples which in the next generation, with Gray and Percy and Diderot and Herder, was to constitute one of the most characteristic elements in European Pre-Romanticism.³

I

The known facts of Husbands' life are few. He was born at Marsh Baldon, Oxfordshire, in February, 1706. After attending school at Hereford, he matriculated in 1721 at Pembroke College, Oxford, and graduated B. A. in 1725 and M. A. in 1728. In the latter year he took orders and was elected a Fellow of his college. In 1731 he edited and published by subscription the *Miscellany* already referred to;⁴ with the exception of a set of Latin verses on the death of George I and the accession of George II (1727), it appears to have been his only publication. He was preparing

¹ *Life of Samuel Johnson*, ed. Croker (London, 1839), I, 61.

² See W. P. Courtney, *A Bibliography of Samuel Johnson* (Oxford, 1915), p. 1. There is no article on Husbands in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

³ Cf. P. Van Tieghem, "La notion de vraie poésie dans les Préromantisme européen," *Revue de littérature comparée*, Avril-Juin 1921, pp. 225-30.

⁴ A Miscellany of Poems By several Hands. Publish'd by J. Husbands, A. M. Fellow of Pembroke-College, Oxon. . . . Oxford: Printed by Leon. Lichfield, near the East-Gate, In the Year MDCCXXXI. Svo. I have used the copy in the Newberry Library, Chicago.

for the press another work, a *Comparison of the Eastern and Western Poetry*, when he died, November 21, 1732.⁵

In the absence of this last work, which was apparently never printed, it is to the *Miscellany* that we must look for Husbands' ideas. The volume contained sixty-one poems, all but about fifteen of which were the work of the editor himself. As a writer of verses, Husbands was satisfied to remain safely within the limits of the prevailing taste. Paraphrases of the Scriptures; translations or "imitations" of the ancients; odes, songs, epistles of a mildly amorous inspiration; moral and descriptive pieces reminiscent of Milton or Thomson—such were the directions, thoroughly typical of the second quarter of the century, which his efforts took. But the *Miscellany* contained also, in addition to the poems, a long Preface of over a hundred pages, which more than made up in the freshness and interest of its views for the commonplaceness of the verses that followed.

The starting-point of the Preface, certain preliminary remarks aside, was a vigorous plea for the renewed cultivation of "Divine Poetry" in England.⁶ To Husbands, as to Dennis⁷ and Addison⁸ in the preceding generation and to Thomson⁹ among contemporaries, the great weakness of early eighteenth-century verse was its lack of religious idealism. Of late, he complained, "the *Poetical* Character has . . . been separated from the *religious*. Our *Beaux Esprits* lay the Foundations of Wit upon the Ruins of good Manners and Decency, and because they can be witty upon no other Theme, make their pretensions to it by Irreligion and Profaneness." And yet "so many Arguments of the Goodness of the Deity offer themselves to our View, as are sufficient to make the most Insensible break forth into Poetry. . . . Every Leaf and Herb, the Birds of the Air, the Flowers of the Field, and even the Clods of the Valley, bring his Creator to his Remembrance."

⁵ For the biographical facts given in this paragraph, see besides the account in Courtney, *op. cit.*, *A Miscellany*, p. 170 and *The Gentleman's Magazine*, November 1732, p. 1083.

⁶ As the pages of the Preface are unnumbered, it is impossible to give detailed references for the quotations in the text.

⁷ *The Grounds of Criticism in Poetry* (London, 1704), in W. H. Durham, *Critical Essays of the Eighteenth Century* (New Haven, 1915), pp. 193-211.

⁸ *Spectator*, No. 453 (1712).

⁹ *Winter*, second edition (London, 1726), Preface.

Moreover, the "Mind of Man naturally delights in what is great and unbounded, and has room here to exert all her Faculties." What was needed to restore imagination and religious fervor to poetry was a more intensive study and imitation of the Hebrew Scriptures. Here were to be found the supreme models for contemporary genius. "What innumerable Beauties might our Poetry be furnish'd with from those sacred Repositories? . . . These are the Writings which far surpass all human Compositions. . . . They exceed in Beauty and Propriety any Thing that was ever wrote by Man. The greatest Genius's among the Ancients fall infinitely short of the inspir'd Books."

In order that the imitation thus proposed might be really fruitful, it was essential to understand the true character of Hebrew poetry and the reasons for its superiority over other models. To these questions Husbands devoted the main body of his Preface.

II

He began—and this for us is the most significant part of his discussion—by distinguishing two general types of poetry—the poetry of nature and the poetry of art. "As Nations improv'd in Knowledge and Politeness, the Sciences grew up gradually, and flourish'd with them in Proportion; Systems in time were form'd, Methods of attaining to the Knowledge of them propos'd, and Precepts establish'd; so that what was criginally natural became at length artificial. Hence Poetry (as People grew more refin'd) was reduc'd to Rules, and became an Art." The "Writers of the first Ages," on the other hand, "had no other Guide than Nature. The Essence of Poetry consists in a just and natural Imitation and Illustration of Things by Words, tending at once both to improve, and please: It consists moreover in a lively and affecting Manner of Writing, adorn'd with Figures, varying according to the Greatness, Nature, and Quality of the Subject. This may be call'd natural Poetry, which (as was said) gave Birth to the methodical and artificial."

Remains of "natural Poetry," in merit sometimes equal if not superior to the "artificial" masterpieces of Greece and Rome, were to be found among nearly all peoples, for as the human mind is "naturally turn'd for Harmony and Numbers," poetry was in the beginning the "universal Language of Men." Husbands him-

self had noted a number of instances in the course of his reading and conversation. He had learned (perhaps from Montaigne)¹⁰ of the existence of poetry among the Indians of America; he had acquired some knowledge of the Lapland poems printed by Scheffer (possibly no more than could be gleaned from Nos. 366 and 406 of the *Spectator*); he had become familiar with Ole Worm's account of Old Norse poetry in his *Danica Literatura*, and apparently with Sir William Temple's remarks on the same subject in his essay *Of heroic Virtue*; he had been told by a friend who knew Welsh of the Odes of Taliessin; and he had read Selden's notes on the ancient British bards in Drayton's *Polyolbion*. All this was little enough, to be sure, when compared with what Gray or Percy knew of the same material a generation later; but it was sufficient to inspire him with an enthusiasm scarcely less marked than theirs, and, when one considers its date, even more significant. In early times, he wrote,

Poetry was not confin'd only to the politer Nations. We may find some Remains of it among the most uncultivated People, and trace its Foot-steps even beneath the Pole. The frozen *Laplander* is susceptible of this Fire, as well as the Sunburnt *American*. Witness those beautiful Odes preserv'd by Scheffer, and those noble Strains of Poetry which the Learned *Olaus Wormius* has given us in his *RUNICK Antiquities*. The Respect and Distinction which their *RUNES* or *SCALDRI* met with, was very extraordinary.¹¹ And 'tis really surprizing to find among those Nations, that are accounted *Barbarous*, Poems that may vie with any of the Performances of *Greece* or *Rome*. *SCALLAGRIM'S* Ode is very much in the Spirit of *PINDAR*, and comes up to almost any Thing We find in Him.¹² And I have been told by a Gentleman of a very good Taste, who understands that Tongue, that the *Welsh* Odes of *Taliessin* are equal to any thing in Antiquity. 'Tis indeed very certain, that the ancient *BRITAINS* gave great Encouragement to the Muses. [Then follows an account of the three orders of poets among the Britains, drawn from Selden's notes on *Polyolbion*, Book IV.]

¹⁰ *Essais*, liv. I, ch. xxxi (ed. Dezeimeris et Barckhausen, Bordeaux, 1870, p. 180).

¹¹ A note to this sentence gives the text of two passages from Worm's Appendix.

¹² Temple had made the same comparison in his essay *Of heroic Virtue*: "I am deceived, if in this Sonnet, and a following Ode of *Scallogrim* . . . there be not a vein truly Poetical, and in its kind Pindarick . . ." (*Miscellanea*, The Second Part . . ., Third Edition, London, 1692, p. 240).

In the same category of "natural" poetry as the Norse and Welsh Odes, Husbands placed the "ancient Poetry of the *Hebrews*." Its writers

imitated Nature without Art, and without Study describ'd agreeably Things, Sentiments, and Affections. For the Strength and Energy of the Figures, and the true Sublimity of Style, are a natural Effect of the Passions. No wonder therefore that their Diction is something more flourish'd and ornamental, more vigorous and elevated, more proper to paint and act Things before our Eyes, than plain and ordinary Recitals. This sort of Poetry is more simple, and at the same time worthy of the Majesty of God, than that which is regular and confin'd, which must with Difficulty express the Dictates of the Holy Spirit, and wou'd be apt to give some Alloy to the Sublimity of the Sense.

Thus for Husbands the explanation of the superiority of the Hebrew writers over "the greatest Genius's among the Ancients" lay in the fact that they were, like the Bards and Scalds of Northern Europe, the poets of a primitive people, whose only guide, divine inspiration apart, was Nature.

III

How fundamental this postulate of the primitiveness of Hebrew poetry was for Husbands will appear from an analysis of his treatment of Old Testament meter and style. All attempts to reduce Hebrew versification to classical regularity seemed to him misleading and absurd. It was as impossible, he thought, to collect "any settled Prosody" from the Scriptures as from the *Versi sciolti* of the Italians or from a modern Pindaric; and this for the reason that regular meter was "too artificial for those simple Times." "It is not to be doubted, that the first Poets were very inaccurate in the Art of Numbers. . . . How deficient in this respect were our old English Poets?" They had indeed a "determin'd Stanza" and "stated Numbers of different kinds, which they call'd, Englyns, Cythdhs, & Athdls.¹³ . . . But how unsettled our Poetry was, may be seen even in the Days of *Chaucer*, *Lidgate*, and *Gower*. . . ." In short, the supposition of modern critics that Hebrew poetry was written in regular and exact meter could proceed only from a disregard of its true character as poetry of "nature."

¹³ Husbands again refers to Selden's notes on Book IV of *Polyolbion*.

As with meter, so with the other qualities of style. The "bold and lofty Expressions" of the Hebrew writers; their peculiar habit of using abstract terms for concrete—"a very strong, and forcible Manner of Expression"; their fondness for personifications; their "beautiful Repetitions"; their similes and comparisons "taken from sensible and familiar Objects, with which those, to whom the sacred Authors wrote, were daily conversant"; their numerous allegories; their descriptions, "more strong and lively than those in any of the Poets"; their extraordinary combination of simplicity and sublimity—these traits, which Husbands exemplified at great length, especially from Job, Genesis, the Psalms, and the Prophets, were so many illustrations of "that lively and affecting Manner of Writing" which he had declared to be one of the marking characteristics of "Natural Poetry." The "primitivism" of his point of view stood out with especial clearness in a passing comparison of the poetry of the Hebrews with that of the modern Europeans:

Their Phrases are certainly more ardent and intense than Those in any *European* Language, and the Figures more bold and vehement. Tho' Their Poetry was less artificial, 'twas more nervous, lively, and expressive than ours. They have nothing of the *Finesse*, Nothing that is over-wrought. This renders them so vivid, beautiful, and affecting. In a Word, there seems to be the same Difference between the *Oriental* and *European* Poetry, as between their Gardens and Plantations. Ours perhaps are disposed with greater Elegance, Order, and Regularity; but the inartificial Beauties, and agreeable Rudeness of Theirs, where Nature appears in all her Charms, and unsubdu'd by Art, give a wild and perhaps more forcible pleasure to the Mind.

Here, then, was a body of poetry to which, because it was "natural Poetry" and still more the "natural Poetry" of an Oriental people, the standards of classical European art could not be made to apply. As to its essential superiority over the poetry produced by the aid of those standards, Husbands himself had no doubt: "the Genius of the *East*," he declared, "soars upon stronger Wings and takes a loftier Flight, than the Muse of *Greece*, or *Rome*." But he was aware that there were many among his readers who would demand stronger arguments than mere assertion to convince them of the justness of his view. For such he adopted two distinct, if not contradictory, lines of persuasion. On the one hand, he multiplied parallels from Greek, Roman, and

English writers to the beauties of the Old Testament for the purpose of stressing the *likenesses* which after all existed between the two bodies of poetry. On the other hand, and with emphasis now rather upon the *differences* which his whole treatment had served to throw into relief, he appealed for the final justification of Hebrew poetry to the principle of relativity in taste: European poetry was to be judged by European canons, Oriental poetry by Oriental:

Our Art of Criticism is drawn from the Writers of *Rome* and *Athens*, whom We make the Standard of Perfection. But why have not the *Jews* as much Right to prescribe to *Them*, as *They* have to prescribe to the *Jews*? Yet to this Test We endeavour to bring the sacred Books, not considering that the Genius and Customs of the *Israelites*, were in many things very different from those of the *Greeks* or *Romans*. This is just as if an Inhabitant of *Bantam* shou'd endeavour to adjust our Behaviour, according to the Manners of his own Countrymen. . . .

The Foundations of Criticism and Poetry, 'tis true, are the same in all Countries; yet the Idiom of a Language, and the Custom of Speaking, will warrant That amongst one People, which wou'd not be allowable amongst another. "Eloquence (says *Crusaz*) derives a relative Beauty from the Tempers or Conditions of the Persons to whom it is address'd. What in one Place, Time, or Circumstance is Proper, in another shall be Trifling and Absurd. . . ." Now, as the common way of speaking among the People of the *East* is vastly more elevated than Ours, so We must allow them to go beyond Us in the Warmth and Energy of their Figures. There is a great Difference in this Respect, between our colder Climates, and those warmer Regions, the Inhabitants of which, as they live nearer to the Sun, seem to partake more of his Heat and Vigour. . . .

IV

Such, in brief, were the ideas of John Husbands on primitive poetry. Viewed as the conclusions of a young Oxford man writing in 1731, a generation before the appearance of the epoch-making works of Lowth, Percy, or Mallet, what is their significance for English literary history?

Originality in any absolute sense they of course did not have. To begin with, interest in the Bible as literature was no new thing in 1731, in spite of Husbands' declaration that he did not "remember to have seen this Subject handled *ex professo* by any One." Robert Boyle's *Some Considerations touching the Style of the Holy Scriptures* (1663); Jean Leclerc's *Essai . . . où l'on tâche*

de montrer en quoi consiste la poésie des Hébreux (1688; translated in 1692);¹⁴ William Nichols' *Conference with a Theist*, Part IV (1699); Robert Jenkin's *Reasonableness and Certainty of the Christian Religion*, Book II (1700);¹⁵ several papers in the *Spectator*, notably Nos. 327, 339, 453 (1712); Henry Felton's *Dissertation on Reading the Classics* (1713);¹⁶ *The Creation. A Pindarick Illustration of a Poem, Originally written by Moses. With a Preface to Mr. Pope, concerning the Sublimity of the Ancient Hebrew Poetry* (1720);¹⁷ Charles Gildon's *Laws of Poetry* (1721);¹⁸ Fénelon's *Dialogues Concerning Eloquence* (translated. 1722);¹⁹ Calmet's *Dictionnaire . . . de la Bible* (1722-24);²⁰ A. Blackwall's *Sacred Classics defended and illustrated* (1725)—these were but a few of the many works known to English readers in which, before 1731, the style of the Scriptures was analyzed, its Oriental character demonstrated, and its superiority to the classical style proclaimed in no uncertain terms. The concept of relativity in taste, too, had already had champions;²¹ and Husbands in affirming that the Bible was to be judged by standards different from the classical did little more than echo the conclusion of Nichols a generation before, that it was "a great Mistake, to account the *Greek* and *Latin* Eloquence to be the only true Standard of Eloquence; for they are only the Standards of the Eloquence of those Nations . . .; but they are far from being the Standards

¹⁴ In *The Young Students Library* . . . By the Athenian Society, London, 1692, pp. 294-311.

¹⁵ This work I have not seen. It is analyzed in the *History of the Works of the Learned*, August 1700, pp. 483-84.

¹⁶ Third edition, 1723, pp. 110-14.

¹⁷ Listed in Durham, *Critical Essays of the Eighteenth Century*, p. 430. I have been unable to find a copy.

¹⁸ Pp. 103-04, 115-21.

¹⁹ By William Stevenson. See especially the Third Dialogue, pp. 133-98. Husbands quotes at length from this text toward the beginning of his Preface.

²⁰ Nouvelle édition (Paris, 1730), III, 237-38.

²¹ See the texts cited by G. M. Miller, *The Historical Point of View in English Literary Criticism* (Heidelberg, 1913), pp. 20-23, and in addition, Nichols, *A Conference with a Theist* (1699), Third Edition (1723), II, 72-74, 90-91, 104; Hughes, "Remarks on the *Fairy Queen*" (1715), in Durham, *op. cit.*, pp. 105-06; and B. Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees*, II (London, 1729), 353 ff.

of the *Eastern Eloquence*, to which they bear very little or no Analogy."²² Again, for the distinction which Husbands made between natural and artificial poetry and for the value which he attached to the former, there were precedents both in Addison's discussion in *Spectator* No. 160 of the "natural Genius" as opposed to the genius formed by rules, and in the rhapsodies of Shaftesbury over "things of a natural kind, where neither art nor the conceit or caprice of man has spoiled their genuine order by breaking in upon that primitive state."²³ Finally, Husbands was not the first to dwell upon the universality of poetry even "among the most uncultivated People"—the theme had been a commonplace even when Sidney introduced it into the *Apologie for Poetrie*²⁴—, or to interest himself in the remains of primitive literatures other than the Hebrew—Temple's remarks on ancient Scandinavian poetry in his essays *Of heroic Virtue* and *Of Poetry* (1690); Hickes' translation of the *Incantation of Hervor* (1705); Steele's quotation of two Lapland odes in the *Spectator* (1712); the elder Thomas Warton's versions of the *Death Song of Regner Lodbrog* and of Montaigne's *American Love-Ode* (published in 1748, but apparently composed before 1723),²⁵ all antedated his studies in this field. In short, so far as the separate elements or ideas of the Preface are concerned, it contained little that a diligent reader of 1731 might not have collected from this or that earlier source.

But if various earlier writers anticipated the individual points of view or interests to be found in Husbands' pages, none of them—at least none whose writings are known to us—achieved anything precisely like his synthesis of these elements. To bring Hebrew Scriptures, Lapland songs, Runic and Welsh Odes together under the general concept of "natural" or primitive poetry, and to proclaim them, in certain qualities at least, equal or even superior to the Greek or Roman classics—this was

²² *Conference*, ed. cit., II, 73.

²³ *Characteristics*, ed. J. M. Robertson (New York, 1900), II, 125.

²⁴ For Sidney's source see Gregory Smith, *Elizabethan Critical Essays* (Oxford, 1904), I, 383-84. Several other texts of the same sort are given in Sir Thomas Pope Blount's *De Re Poetica* (London, 1694), pp. 1-5. The classic treatment of the theme in eighteenth-century literature was of course in Gray's *Progress of Poesy*, II, ii.

²⁵ D. H. Bishop, in *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, XVI (1917), 364.

to do something essentially new. And because he did it, and did it with an enthusiasm and outspokenness which it would be hard to parallel anywhere before the second half of the century, Husbands deserves to be remembered among the critics and scholars who in the heart of the "classical" age were helping to prepare men's minds for the coming transformation of literary taste and ideas.

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DANTE NOTES

I. DANTE'S OBLIGATIONS TO ALBERTUS MAGNUS

Another unmistakable instance of Dante's indebtedness to Albertus Magnus may be added to those given by Toynbee in *Romania*, XXIV (1895), 399-412:

Convivio, II, 15¹: "... quello albore, il quale noi chiamiamo Galassia. E puote essere che il cielo in quella parte è più spesso, e però ritiene e ripresenta quello lume; e questa opinione pare avere, con Aristotile, Avicenna e Tolommeo."

Compare:

Meteororum, Lib. I, Tractatus II, cap. VI²: "... circulus qui dicitur galaxia. . . . Causa autem materialis quae est subjectum, est pars illa orbis quae spissior est alia parte orbis, et ideo retinens et repraesentans lumen solis et stellarum, et terminans visum per eundem modum quo stellae retinent lumen et repraesentant et visum terminant. Et hujus signum est quod compertum est probatione astronomica, quod circulus galaxiae movetur motu stellarum fixarum: hoc autem in centum annis gradu uno. Cujus autem motus est motus stellarum fixarum, oportet quod sit de natura stellarum: et haec est sententia Ptolemaei et Avicennae et aliorum Philosophorum et etiam Aristotelis."

II. LEGNO? (*Purg.*, VII, 74)

After all the likely places have been searched in vain, an old maxim suggests looking into the unlikely ones. Certainly, the probabilities have been exhausted for the elucidation of that moot

¹ Moore, *Tutte le Opere di Dante Alighieri*, Oxford, 1904, p. 268.

² Albertus Magnus, *Opera omnia*, Paris, 1890-98, IV, 496-7.

line: "Indico legno lucido e sereno . . ."; and they are much rather *improbabilities* to the candid mind. Shall we not try the mere possibilities now?

What did Dante mean by this "legno"? But, did he write "legno"? An over-bold question perhaps, but of a boldness born of desperation. For consider the problem systematically: if we accept the line as printed we must either (1) take "indico" alone; this leaves "legno" described indeed, but not limited; and "shining clear wood" is clear nonsense, in this context; or (2) construe "indico legno" together, and choose between: (a) ebony—with a host of older commentators; off-color in every sense and utterly unsatisfactory; (b) amber—with Miss Cook;³ bathetic and unconvincing; and, finally, (c) some yet unidentified "Indian wood" *par excellence*, intrinsically lucent and bland, and, we fervently augur, bright-colored, fit to rank in sheer pulchritude with precious metals, glowing pigments, and gems, and to adumbrate loveliest flowers. Till that radiant wood, to Dante famed but to us forgotten, be rediscovered, it may not be wholly otiose to glimpse a possibility in something I ran across in Isidore of Seville. It is at least interesting: Isid., *Etym.*, Lib. XVI, cap. XIV, 4; in Dionysii Gothofredi, *Auctores Latinae Linguae in unum redacti corpus* . . . Gen evae, 1622; [given as cap. XIII in this edition], col. 1221 [misnumbered "1222"]:

LIGNIS ex eodem genere ardentium [sc. gemmarum] est, appellata a lucernarum flagrantia. Gignitur in multis locis, sed probatissima apud Indos. Quidam eam remissiorem carbunculum dixerunt. Hujus duplex facies: una quae purpura radiat; altera quae cocci rubore.⁴

Solinus, *Polyhistor.*, cap. LII, has:

LYCHNITEM perinde fert India, cujus lucis vigorem ardor excitat lucernarum, qua ex causa lychniten Graeci vocaverunt. Duplex ei facies: aut enim purpurea emicat claritate, aut meracius suffunditur cocci rubore, per omne intimum sui, siquidem pura sit, inoffensam admittens perspicuitatem.

³ Mabel P. Cook, "Indico legno," in *PMLA*, XVIII (N. S., XI), 1903, pp. 356 ff.; reviewed by E. G. P[arodi?], in *Bull. della Soc. Dantesca Italiana*, N. S., XIII, 1906, pp. 74 ff.

⁴ I italicize words suggestive of Dante's context, but without insisting too much on their significance as evidence.

Back of these is Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, Lib. XXXVII, 29:

Ex eodem genere ardentium [sc. gemmarum] LYCHNIS appellata a lucernarum accensu, tamen praecipuae gratiae. Nascitur circa Orthosiam, totaque Caria, ac vicinis locis: sed probatissima in *Indis*, quam quidam remissiore carbunculum esse dixerunt. Secunda bonitate similis est Ionia, appellata a praelatis floribus. Et inter has invenio differentiam: unam quae purpura radiat: alteram quae cocco.

The gender in all these passages is apparently feminine, and Dante unmistakably gives it as masculine; but this objection is far from crushing. For the names of this stone or similar ones were notably varied in their Greek and Latin forms, and what may not have happened at the hands of medieval gemmologists and scribes? Commenting on the Solinus passage, Claude Saumaise says:⁵

"LII. Lychnitem perinde fert India. . . ." "Legi debet etiam in . . . Plinio: *Lychnis appellata*. Nam si *lychnites* scripsisset, non foemineo genere id nomen enuntiasset. Varie concipiuntur apud antiquos hujus lapidis nomina. Nam et *λυχνεύς* dicitur, et *λυχναίος*, ἢ *λυχνίς* *λυχνίδος*, ἢ *λυχνίτις*, δ *λυχνίτης*, et δ *λύχνης* τοῦ *λύχνου*. Nam ita in antiquis Dionysii codicibus scribitur: . . . *Λύχνης* . . . πρὸς φλογὶ πάντων ὅμοιος. Plinio *lychnis* appellata est, ἢ *λυχνίς*, ita legit Isidorus ex eodem auctore. Index manuscriptus: *Lythenis*, genera ejus IIII. Ubi *lythenis* perperam scriptum pro *lychnis*."

The appearance, in Latin and Romance, of *g* for *χ* offers no novelty. Manuscripts of the extract from Solinus, for example, show "lygnitem" and "ligniten."⁶ Dante, *Conv.*, I, 8, uses the phrase "li tegni," which Moore explains:⁷ " . . . τέχνη; . . . the 'Liber Tegni' formed part of the curriculum of study at Bologna and Paris (see Rashdall, *Universities of Europe, &c.*, vol. I, pp. 247, 429)." Perhaps in this very passage (*Purg.*, VII, 74) Dante himself wrote "legni" (or even "ligni") for in *Chiose sopra Dante* | Testo inedito | ora per la prima volta pubblicato | Firenze | nella tipografia Piatti | 1846, I found it in the form "Indaco legnio."

But it is much more likely that the gap between the Greek and

⁵ *Plinianae Exercitationes* in C. J. Solini Polyhistora.

⁶ C. Iulii Solini, *Collectanea Rerum Memorabilium*, iterum recensuit Th. Mommsen, Berlin, 1895.

⁷ *Dante Studies*, I, 297.

the Italian was spanned by a Latinized form of the whole phrase; the most ideally direct transition—and presumably altogether too good to be true—would be through the genitive of the last Greek type cited by Claude Saumaise, viz.: *ἰνδικοῦ λύχνου* > *indici ligni* > [genitive of Italian] *indico legno*.

Certainly, the purple color would be a suitable note in Dante's scale, more so than ebony-black, or even than amber in such brilliant company.⁸ But, after all, Dante's effort is, evidently, not to compass the gamut of standard colors so much as to stress vividness and clearness: compared with the flowers of that Purgatorial slope, each of these precious metals, pigments, and gems⁹ of lines 73-75 "*saria di color vinto Come dal suo maggiore è vinto il meno.*"¹⁰ This Indian gem, whose name was said to come from the Greek word for "lamp," had color enough (the scarlet champion was a homonym, it seems); but paramount were its brightness and its clearness: and note how closely "*lucido e sereno*" tally with the pair of qualities given by Solinus' "*emicat claritate, aut . . . inoffensam admittens perspicuitatem.*"

Perhaps some lapidary to which I have not had access may supply the missing link. Meantime, I suggest to the next enterprising—if audacious—English translator of the *Divine Comedy*, that, inasmuch as the term "*lychnis*" has been appropriated to the flower, he render *Purg.*, VII, 74, "*Indian lychnite.*" The word, if new, is authentic; and it has the true mineralogical ring.

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⁸ Miss Cook, *l. c.*, sees a designed repetition of yellow tone, and advances a fanciful color-symmetry.

⁹ Or are they *all* pigments, as Ruskin in his *Comments on the Divine Comedy* asserts? Dante in l. 79 says: "*Non avea pur natura ivi dipinto. . .*" In this connection it is interesting to note what the "Anonymous Florentine" commentator of the XIV century says: "*. . . quello legno d'India, del quale si fa bellissimi vasi et di color verdi,*"—and to speculate on what material he may have meant: malachite would fill the bill nicely, and its circular grain might easily have suggested *wood*; but!—Pliny seems to refer to it as an *Arabian* stone.

¹⁰ Ll. 77-78.

REVIEWS

The Origin of the German Carnival Comedy. By J. MAXIMILIAN
RUDWIN. New York: G. E. Stechert & Co., 1920.

Dr. Rudwin presents in this monograph the results of his investigation of the relation of German Carnival Comedy to the pagan rites performed annually by many primitive peoples to insure fertility. Among these rites were the expulsion of Death or Winter, a struggle between Winter and Summer, the procession, even in inland places, in which a *carrus navalis* or ship-cart containing emblems of fertility played the important part.

The author has brought together the evidence showing how wide spread among primitive nations and yet how similar in practice and spirit these rites were. He points out the survival in Carnival comedy of certain themes and types of characters borrowed from these rituals. Furthermore, he calls attention to the similarity of the ancient mime and the medieval carnival play in their use of marital infidelity as a motive, their ridicule of the Jew, monks, and peasants, their conception of female characters, etc. The explanation of this similarity, according to Dr. Rudwin, may be "due to their similar origin in the magical rites of the fertility worship, although foreign influence coming on the top of an independent growth in the Germanic Carnival customs need not be altogether denied" (p. 51).

Thus, Dr. Rudwin presents in a new field, strong evidence of the influence of the pagan rites to insure fertility in the origin and development of drama. Attending all investigations of this kind there is always the danger of ascribing customs, which are similar, to a common ritualistic origin, instead of regarding them as merely parallel customs due to their common origin in the human mind. However, except in somewhat minor instances, Dr. Rudwin has successfully avoided this pitfall which besets the path travelled by Frazer and his followers. Yet one cannot accept unreservedly the theory, based perhaps on a statement by Mr. Cornford, that the motive of resurrection from Hades found in the ritual "is employed in the Attic comedy when Æschylus is fetched up from the abode of the shades by the god of tragedy" (p. 23), since, as Mr.

Cornford has pointed out, it is hardly fair to lay too much stress upon the resurrection in the *Frogs* "because the whole conception of the plot demands that it shall be modelled on the Descent into Hades."¹ Furthermore, in two passages (pp. 24 and 44), Dr. Rudwin expresses the opinion that the motive of resurrection could not be used as a comical plot. On the other hand, although Mr. Cornford rightly minimizes the motive of resurrection in the *Frogs*, he gives enough other instances of the use of this motive to justify fully his statement: "If we look again at the series of Aristophanic plays, we shall not merely find isolated vestiges of this motive of resurrection, or rebirth, or renewal of life, but we shall see how it governs, in several cases, the general course of the action after the Agon."²

Also, Dr. Rudwin is perilously near the pitfall of Frazerism, when he says that "the *Antichoria*—the half-choruses performing antiphonally at the Easter service, in which the roots of the Church drama are found—may, indeed, have been adopted from the heathen spring ritual where, in their original function, they represented two opposing groups in the contest of Summer and Winter" (p. 51). Antiphonal song is so natural a procedure that it scarcely seems necessary to explain its use in any form of worship in which a chorus is employed; but, even if it be granted that *Antichoria* in the Christian ritual sprang from the pagan spring *dromenon*, the origin of sacred drama is not to be sought in *Antichoria* or any other dialog spoken or sung, but in the mimetic element in the ritual itself. The impulse toward mimesis is caused by the emotional ecstasy attendant upon religious rites which causes the celebrant to become an impersonator and makes the ritualistic celebration of an event a representation of that event.

Although Dr. Rudwin shows that certain episodes and characters are common to both the ritual and Carnival comedy, he does not find the "root of the Carnival plays" in what he calls the "ritual drama" or in any incident in the ritual such as the conflict of Spring and Winter. He says:

"Mr. Cornford's attempt to lead back the old Attic comedy through the folk-play to the ritual procedure, which he recon-

¹ F. M. Cornford, *The Origin of Attic Comedy*, London, 1914, p. 85.

² *Ibid.*, p. 84.

structed with great ingenuity, has, in the opinion of the writer, not been very successful. The old Attic comedy, like the medieval German farce, does not show in its plot a similarity to the ritual sufficient to warrant any such assumption. The ritual in itself had but few histrionic possibilities. The parts of the medieval religious drama which were based on the church liturgy also proved incapable of dramatic evolution. Between the ritual and the drama, as we understand it, there yawns a mighty chasm. We can have drama only when a wholly new content has been given to the ritual. This fact applies with special force to comedy. The ritual plot, above all, can not be used for comical drama. The marriage, which forms the canonical ending of all our comedies, may, as Cornford suggests, be a survival of the ritual of the union of the sexes, but the central episode of the ritual drama, the death and resurrection of the fertility god, would in comedy, as Cornford admits, be either too serious or too silly" (p. 24).

Dr. Rudwin holds that the impersonators of the demons were the connecting link between the dramatic ritual to insure fertility and the Carnival comedy. He says that "episodes were added which had no connection with the magical ceremonies," and that the clownish demons "were asked to imitate certain individuals in the throng . . . and gladly exhibited their mimic talent" (pp. 38-39). The reviewer infers that, in Dr. Rudwin's opinion, the "new content" was thus given to the ritual. The author points out, on the authority of Semos, that a similar development took place among the Greeks when "the *phallophori* after having sung phallic songs ran forward and ridiculed persons in the audience" (p. 39). But does not the fact that such actions of *phallophori* probably helped to produce the parabasis—the undramatic element in Greek comedy—need to be noted and perhaps explained, if one seeks to derive a certain form of drama from such a custom?

Dr. Rudwin concludes a part of his thesis by expressing the opinion that all drama is of demonic origin and that "the Church Fathers were indeed right when they declared that all dramatic arts come from the devil" (p. 39). True as this statement is from the point of view that certain pagan gods, such as Dionysus, were merged in the medieval conception of the devil, the reader is at times troubled by the thought that in this passage and elsewhere the words "demonic" and "demon" might perhaps better be spelled "daimonic" and "daimon."

Dr. Rudwin's theory and conclusions are, at least, very interesting; and in view of the modern tendency to find the origin of

all episodes of all kinds of drama in the pagan ritual to insure fertility, it is striking to find a scholar who does not explain all the elements of the special kind of play he is investigating as arising from this ritual. From the evidence which Dr. Rudwin has presented in this monograph, and which he frankly admits is fragmentary, the reviewer sees no reason to disagree with the conclusions taken as a whole. It is perfectly possible that the relation of German Carnival comedy to these rites is to be explained in this way. On the other hand, since the reviewer shares the hope with Dr. Rudwin that investigation along these lines will be continued, it may not be out of place to make certain comments on the passages quoted above and some suggestions for the guidance of future investigators.

In the first place, certain stages in the development of drama from religious rites should be recognized. The ritual becomes first a dramatic ritual whenever the mimetic element is introduced. The dramatic ritual, in turn, becomes a ritualistic drama when the mimetic element overshadows the religious element. Drama develops from the ritualistic drama as soon as those concerned with its production cease to be conscious of any tradition which causes the dramatic representation to assume a certain form or employ certain themes and characters, although reminiscences of the original ritual may be plain to the investigating scholar.

Thus the reviewer cannot agree with Dr. Rudwin's idea that between "the ritual and drama, as we understand it, there yawns a mighty chasm," and that "we can have drama only when a new content has been given to the ritual." The figure of speech is rather unfortunate. Perhaps it would be better to say that between ritual and drama there is a twilight zone. Also, drama may exist when the old content of the ritual has undergone a slow development into a content which seems new but which, if analyzed, shows unmistakable traces of its origin. Certainly no chasm yawns between the Christian rituals of Easter and the highly developed French mysteries of the Passion and Resurrection. Thus the reviewer at least does not understand why Dr. Rudwin states that "the parts of the medieval drama which were based on the Church liturgy also proved incapable of dramatic evolution." Such a striking theory needs to be backed up with much evidence.

Even if Dr. Rudwin would not accept our theory of the develop-

ment of ritual into drama, had he stated his own theory by using some such terms after defining them, he would have avoided a certain amount of obscurity. For instance, one is not sure what Dr. Rudwin means by "ritual drama," although one may guess that he means "dramatic ritual." Furthermore, what is the "ritual plot" in this connection? If a ritual is dramatic enough to have a "plot," the reviewer can scarcely agree that "the ritual had but few histrionic possibilities." Indeed, the histrionic possibilities in most religious rites are the strongest foundation of the theory that drama springs from worship in a ritualistic form.

Dr. Rudwin says, "the root of the drama we will find neither in this (conflict of Spring and Winter) nor in any other incident in the ritual" (p. 24). What does he mean by the word "drama"? Does he mean conscious mimetic representation either by physical actions or sounds or both? He says elsewhere, "drama is only reached when imitation or representation extends to action" (p. 29); but since he fails to define by the word "action"—a word of many meanings as applied to drama—the statement is so obscure that the reader is not helped to understand the word "drama" in either of these passages.

Also, in regard to the influence on drama of the conflict of Spring and Winter which appears in the ritual, the reviewer is convinced that this episode produced the well-defined *agon* or combat in Attic Comedy, and that the reason there is no *agon* on the stage in early Greek tragedy is due to the fact that tragedy was not an outgrowth of this ritual.³ The *agon* of the ritual may have had more influence on drama than Dr. Rudwin admits.

Dr. Rudwin holds the opinion that Mr. Cornford's theory of the development of Attic comedy is not tenable; but he does not offer enough evidence to convert one to his view. Mr. Cornford has shown many survivals in the Old Comedy of some of the very elements of the ritual which Dr. Rudwin discusses; and the present writer has also tried to show that Mr. Cornford's theory explains the dramatic technique of Old Comedy, while the construction of Greek tragedy shows that that form of drama cannot have developed from the same ritual.⁴ Thus, when Dr. Rudwin says that "the ritual plot, above all, cannot be used for the comical drama," we

³D. C. Stuart, *The Origin of Greek Tragedy*, T. A. P. A., Vol. 57, p. 173.

⁴D. C. Stuart, *op. cit.*

cannot agree with his statement that Attic comedy does not show in its plot a similarity to the ritual to warrant the assumption that Attic comedy can be led back "through the folk play to the ritual procedure." Dr. Rudwin admits that the marriage which forms the canonical ending of all our comedies, may, as Cornford suggests, be "a survival of the ritual union of the sexes." But the significant part of this theory of Mr. Cornford is the fact that the marriage ends almost every extant comedy of Aristophanes in spite of the fact that, as Mr. Cornford says, "there is nothing whatever in the previous incidents of an Aristophanic plot to prepare the spectator for any such conclusion."⁵ On the other hand, marriage, as a canonical ending of modern comedies, is not an outgrowth of Aristophanic comedy and hence of the marriage episode in the ritual. It is rather an outgrowth of the construction of late Greek tragedy of the Euripidean type whence it came into New Comedy, which, in turn, gave it to modern comedy.

One of Dr. Rudwin's chief reasons for rejecting Mr. Cornford's theory is that the motive of death and resurrection "would in comedy, as Mr. Cornford admits, be either too serious or too silly." In regard to the resurrection, we have already pointed out that Dr. Rudwin, accepts in spite of this statement, the episode of Æschylus' resurrection in the *Frogs* as being the result of ritualistic influence with less reserve than does Mr. Cornford himself. In regard to the death, as well as the resurrection, we still believe that Mr. Cornford has shown the influence of these ritualistic episodes in Aristophanic comedy. Mr. Cornford by no means dismisses the question of the influence of these motives on Old Comedy by his admission⁶ quoted by Dr. Rudwin. On the contrary he expressly states that "if our hypothesis is sound, we might expect to find some reminiscences of the death and resurrection motive clinging to the Agones in Aristophanes."⁷ He proceeds to point out these reminiscences and he concludes that "no one instance taken by itself would have much weight; but when all are taken together, and it is seen how constant this motive is, it appears to me that the probability that we have here survivals of an original simulated death of one or the other

⁵ Cornford, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

⁷ *Loc. cit.*

adversary is considerably stronger than we should expect to find it, even if we knew on other grounds that the hypothesis were true."⁸ Thus, what Mr. Cornford means by his admission is that we must not expect to find the death or resurrection of a character actually enacted in comedy, but he does believe that death and resurrection in the ritual has left its influence in comedy.

Until much stronger and more definite objections are made to Mr. Cornford's theories, we cannot admit, with Dr. Rudwin, that "the ritual plot, above all, cannot be used for comical drama," whether the German Carnival comedy used it or not. In studying drama it is always well to keep in mind the fact that there is no plot or situation inherently and unalterably tragic or comic. Whether a plot or a situation is to be tragic or comic depends upon the point of view of the playwright. Through a long period of development these serious religious rites had lost their solemnity until in Greek comedy they were burlesqued, and the very gods themselves honored by the ritual were degraded, as is Dionysus in the *Frogs*. Surely it would be hazardous to argue that, because the *Acharnians* burlesques the Dionysiac rites, Old Comedy is not derived from this very ritual. Thus, when Dr. Rudwin points out that "the motive of rejuvenation is only burlesqued in the Carnival plays," the question arises as to whether Carnival comedy has not a closer relationship to the rites to insure fertility than Dr. Rudwin admits. The reviewer finds it difficult to accept this statement as evidence that the plot of the ritual cannot be used for comedy.

We cannot help feeling that Dr. Rudwin's arguments for his thesis would have been more convincing had he not attempted to set aside Mr. Cornford's theory of the origin of Attic comedy as untenable, and if he had not attempted to use certain statements made by Mr. Cornford in support of his own views. We must remember that the germ of drama contained in similar rituals may well develop along certain dissimilar lines. For instance, a parabasis may or may not develop out of the practice of ridiculing persons in the audience, without precluding the possibility of this very custom helping to produce German Carnival comedy, although, as we have said, this phenomenon would call for some explanation.

⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 83.

If in Attica the germ of drama in this ritual developed into Aristophanic comedy, in Germanic countries it may easily develop, as Dr. Rudwin points out, only into a degenerate folk-play, whereas the actors impersonating the clownish demons—or daimons—may well have improvised certain scenes extraneous to the ritual which became the basis of the Carnival play.

Finally, perhaps many of the separate points on which the reviewer disagrees with the author would disappear, if the terminology employed by Dr. Rudwin in this interesting study were clearer. And one does not need to be overflowing with the milk of human kindness to excuse the author for vagueness. One must only have tried to write about the origin of some form of drama.

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Cyrano de Bergerac par Edmond Rostand, edited by OSCAR KUHN and H. W. CHURCH. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1920. xiii + 255 pp.

Edmond Rostand. Cyrano de Bergerac, edited by A. G. H. SPIERS. New York: Oxford Press, 1921. xxvi + 387 pp.

There was need for a new edition of this play, always immensely popular in schools and colleges. The one brought out by Professor Kuhns in 1899 was made under the glamor of first impressions, before a general critical opinion of the play and its author had been formed and before the historical personage who furnished the salient points in the hero's character had been thoroughly studied. It served a useful purpose, but was unsatisfactory in both the introduction and the notes and lacked an essential of the successful modern text, a vocabulary. One is consequently not surprised to find that two new editions of the play have recently appeared.

The first of these contains an exact reprint of Professor Kuhn's text and introduction. Lines that contain the words *nombril* (l. 484) and *cocu* (ll. 916-923) are still omitted, despite the general decrease in prudery of the last twenty years, and we still find in 1920, as in 1899, that Rostand "is yet young; it will be interesting to watch his future career. A few more such plays as

Cyrano de Bergerac would undoubtedly stamp him as the greatest dramatic genius of the nineteenth century" (!).

Professor Church has "revised the notes and prepared the vocabulary." Of the former he has added only a score, though many more were needed, and in some of these he is clearly wrong. The *manteau d'Arlequin* (p. 177) should not be described as being "behind the curtain." Gérusez should not now be quoted as an authority (p. 178), as if Rigal had never written. "*Grise* here means 'is growing gray,' not 'gets intoxicated,' as might be inferred from the preceding line" (p. 200). *Grise*, as a matter of fact, never means 'is growing gray' and does mean 'intoxicates' with a punning reference to Father Joseph, "Son Eminence grise," as Mr. Spiers points out. Even the vocabulary, which is the only addition of any importance to the old edition, is incomplete.¹ *Coquille* should be defined as *guard*, not *hilt*. *Veste* does not mean *vest*. Finally, it is unfortunate that the editors have retained the old system by which lines and parts of lines are numbered as if the play were written in prose.

It is a pleasure to turn to the other edition, that of Professor Spiers. He has written an interesting introduction in which he has made use of various critical studies of Rostand and information recently obtained about *Cyrano* and the stage of his day. He has also endeavored to estimate for the student the value of Rostand's work, especially of his masterpiece. The text he has wisely kept without alteration. His notes are ample and carefully made. They show keen appreciation of the needs of teacher and student. He adds a special "list of proper names" in which he gives brief biographies of the various persons mentioned in the play. The vocabulary is supposed to include only the words that a student in his third or fourth year has to look up. In the main the editor has applied this principle judiciously, though I should not have made exactly the same choice.²

From the bibliographical list I miss M. Brun's later work on *Cyrano*.³ On p. xii *la Samaritaine* should be mentioned. P. xvi,

¹ I miss *angélique*, *carquois*, *décrocher*, *jeu* in the sense of *pack of cards*, *mule*, *tâter*.

² Why exclude *escroc* and *famélique*, if one includes *esprit* and *féliciter*?

³ Savinien de *Cyrano Bergerac*. *L'histoire et la légende*, Paris, Daragon, 1909.

"the musical rather than the plastic, the organic rather than the aesthetic,"—a hard saying for an undergraduate. P. 321, 1617 is not so good a date as 1620-1621 for *Pyrame*. P. 330, *Don Quichot* is a spelling found in the seventeenth century as well as in Rostand. P. 355, Mahelot's *Mémoire* shows that the scenery of the Hôtel de Bourgogne was hardly "rudimentary."

Professor Spiers describes the historical background of the characters. He knows very well that a poet is not to be taken to task for historical inaccuracies, but that it is important for a student to be told what was furnished by tradition so that he can appreciate the changes made by the poet. He does not show, however, as Brun has done, the full extent to which the romantic, idealistic Cyrano differs from his historical namesake, whose childhood is not known to have been without love, who evidenced no inclination to sacrifice himself for a rival, and who was not above seeking a patron.

In his judgment of Rostand he brings out clearly the poet's wit, cleverness, versatility, mastery of technique. He admits his lack of intellectual endowment, but does not point out his lack of sincerity, his abuse of cleverness, his *préciosité*, his *panache*. It may be that Rostand did not share the "theatrical conventions that lingered on in the dramas of Sardou, Augier and Dumas fils," but he had theatrical tricks of his own that are quite as obvious and quite as artificial. Still, the undergraduate does not notice these defects any more than an American critic who has recently declared *Cyrano* to be the greatest play since Shakespeare. Professor Spiers does not make this mistake and, if he seems too partial to Rostand, it must be remembered that a certain reverence is owing to the aesthetics of undergraduates in a book that is intended primarily for them.

H. CARRINGTON LANCASTER.

Le château d'Amour de Robert Grosseteste évêque de Lincoln,
par J. MURRAY. Paris: Champion, 1918. 8vo. Pp. 183.

Miss Murray has done an excellent piece of work in her edition and study of the one work in French verse attributed to the great English bishop of the thirteenth century, Robert Grosseteste. The

first section is devoted to a sketch of the life and works of the author (15-21), in which Miss Murray shows she has made good use of the well-chosen books of which she gives a list in the preceding bibliography. Perhaps enough emphasis has not been given to the scholarly interests of this humanist of the thirteenth century, and to his wide and liberal tendencies, as is evidenced by the appearance of the manuscripts and translations of Hebrew books found in the monastic libraries which came within the sphere of his administration.

The very mediocre edition of the poem, due to M. Cooke, published for the Caxton Society in 1852, was based on two manuscripts; Miss Murray in the preparation of her edition has collated eleven manuscripts of the thirteenth, and fourteenth century, which contain the poem under various titles, and variant forms, to which she calls attention in detail (22-32). Of these manuscripts she has made a careful classification, of which the results, so far as the original text is concerned, are rather disconcerting, on account of the variation of readings, which have been multiplied, not only by the individual scribal peculiarities, but also by the fluctuating condition of the Anglo-French dialect as spoken and written in England in this period (32-40). Of this dialect Miss Murray has made a careful investigation with the use of the most recent work on the subject, from the metrical, phonetic, and syntactical points of view, and her results from this investigation show that the composition of the work may be assigned to the neighborhood of 1230, a date consonant with what is known of the life and works of the author (41-64). In the discussion of the sources she shows that the treatment of the Scriptures which appears in Grosseteste's theological tractates, is likewise found in the poem, as is also the emphasis given to allegorical interpretation, which is the *raison d'être* of this spiritual allegory. If she has arrived at the same conclusions as other scholars as to Grosseteste's poem being the first French poem to contain the theme of the Four Daughters of God (79), she has neither here, nor in the section on its translations and influence, assigned to it its position among other medieval works, which have undertaken to unite this episode in a single work, devoted to the story of the redemption of man, such as it is found in the poem of the St. Graal, the *Meditationes vitae Christi*, and in various passion plays (Cf. E. Roy, *Le Mystère de la Passion en France du XIII^e au XVI^e siècle*,

1903, *9). And she has curiously failed to note what would seem to be the inspiration of both the title of the poem and its main theme. Dr. Neilson, twenty years ago in his well-informed dissertation on *The Origins and Sources of the Courts of Love* (1899, p. 136), which should have been in Miss Murray's bibliography, pointed out how close was the resemblance of the allegorical castle in Grosseteste's spiritual allegory to the mansion of Venus in secular allegories of an earlier, or of the same period, and how Grosseteste's interpretation had a suggestion of another type of allegory. The familiarity of the conception is further evidenced by its appearance in works of art of the same and a later period (Neilson, *op. cit.*, 137-8; R. S. Loomis, "The Allegorical Siege in the Art of the Middle Ages," *Journal of the Archaeol. Institute of America*, XXIII [1919]: 255-269; A. Rubió y Lluch, *Documents per l'història de la Cultura catalana mieg-aval*, I [1908] 171, 193). *Le Château d'Amour* is only another instance, so common from the dawn of literature, of the adoption of a secular *genre* of literature for ecclesiastical purposes.

Neither in the section devoted to the manuscripts, nor in that devoted to the influence of the poem, has Miss Murray noted the mention of the work under various titles, in catalogues of medieval libraries. In the late fourteenth century library at Peterborough, for instance, it is noted as "Tractatus de Origine Mundi secundum Rob. Grostest, Gallice" and, again, as "Tractatus Qui in Lingua Romana secundum Robertum Grostest Episcopum Lincoln, De principio creationis mundi, de medio & fine" (S. Gunton, *The History of the Church of Peterburgh* [1687], 224, 218). Of these the first gives a title not found elsewhere, while the second includes the beginning of the Latin Prologue due to Grosseteste, himself (*ed.* 22, 23, 87), as is the case in an entry in the catalogue of St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, written late in the fifteenth century: "tractatus Magistri Roberti grossi Capitis de principio mundi medio et fine in gallico" (M. R. James, *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover* [1903], 218), while in the same catalogue (372) one finds no less than three copies listed under the title of "Tractatus domini Lincoln in gallico." We likewise find in an inventory of books which belonged to Charles V and Charles VI of France one entitled "Vie de Jhesus Crist rymée que fist saint Robert" (L. Delisle, *Recherches sur la*

Librairie de Charles V [1907], II, *77), as in the rubric of Ms. L (26). If no one of a number of such entries can be identified with any one of the manuscripts on which this edition is based, these entries at least show the popularity of the work under various titles.

The editor has presented a readable text, with the supplement of a long list of variants, which can still be used to advantage, in suggesting more probable readings than those adopted. What advantage for instance has the suggested reading based on the reading "Iny" in one manuscript:

En li conuisse sanz folage (24),

over that found in all the other manuscripts which read:

Le conuisse sanz folage?

And how would the emended text be translated? In Old French, "soi conoistre en" is a not unknown construction, but is "li" to be taken as the tonic form of the third personal pronoun in the plural? Is "O ez, seignurs" (43) a mere misprint for the Anglo-Norman "oez"? The sudden change from the singular to the plural form in the line:

Meis tu primes le enfrensistes "

is certainly worthy of comment, supported as it is by the majority of manuscripts, as a striking example, and in a most emphatic way of a phenomenon of which cases abound not only in Old French, but also in a number of Germanic languages, including English (Cf. F. Liebrecht, *Glossaire du Chevalier au Cygne* [1859], 440, *Gött. gel. Anz.* [1866], 1038; [1870], 1232, [1871], 1922; *Academy*, III, 202).

The short glossary (181-2) is perhaps not as complete as it should be, while giving some unnecessary explanations. Does "projectile," with which *quarel* is glossed, give any clue to its very common meaning: "the bolt of a cross-bow"? Neither in the glossary nor in the notes has attention been called to the identical Anglo-Norman form for two words, "*poür*" (1526) "fear" for O. F. *paour*, Lat. *pavor*, and "*poür*" (1620), "stench," Lat. *putor*, Prov. *pudor*, O. F. *puor*. In the second place, in the poem the pains of hell are enumerated of which:

E la tierce si iert poür,

an equation with the *fetor* if in a different order, of the *Vision of*

St. Paul, which the editor has occasion to cite, 179; (Cf. P. Meyer, *Rom.*, xxiv, 366; cf. 360, n. 1).

In her notes Miss Murray adds much to the elucidation of the text by the citations she gives of scholastic and legal texts. But is the extra-Scriptural information that Adam was created in the valley of Hebron (75-6) so well known that it was not worth citing some medieval texts? (Cf. A. Bovenschen, *Die Quellen f. d. Reisebeschreibung des Johann von Mandeville* [1888], 37), and is the proper name "Architriclin" (1247) as well known to the average reader as to a medieval reader, or auditor, so that a note on its origin in the word in the Vulgate "architriclinus" (*John*, II, 8-9), for the master of the feast, is not necessary? (Cf. F. Michel, *Tristan*, II, 310; Villon, *Grant Testament*, 1243, E. Langlois, *Table des Noms propres . . . dans les Chansons de Geste* [1904], 45, *Mandeville's Travels*, edited from MS. Cotton Titus C. XVI in the British Museum, ed. P. Hamelius (Publ. E. E. T. 153) [1919], 153. The passage is not found in Halliwell's text, p. 111, and so its source has not been noted by Bovenschen, *op. cit.*, 57).

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CORRESPONDENCE

A POSTLIMINEAR COROLLARIUM FOR CORYATE

Having recently been led by Mr. Maurice Hewlett's *A Fool of Quality* to read Tom Coryate's *Crudities* for the first time, I am moved by my surprise, not to say indignation, to attempt a *Rettung*. Mr. Hewlett's entertaining skit portrays Coryate as a buffoon and a butt, who must have sat for Shakespeare's fools. And the *Cambridge History of English Literature*, if it does not confirm, would do little to correct this impression. Mr. Hewlett quotes what is almost the only absurd, but is unfortunately the first, sentence in Coryate's book, with the comment, "Shakespeare can never have missed such a man as that." To prove that Coryate was "a euphuist of the first water" and a fool Mr. Hewlett and others instance his title-pages, which are no more affected than those of Chapman, Purchas, or Raleigh, and three or four intentionally extravagant sentences, some of them from private letters. They do not tell the reader that almost the whole of Coryate's

instructive book is written in a plain, simple, manly narrative style. And they do not appear to understand the playful pedantries which seem so ridiculous to them. The "Pancraticall and athletical health," of which Coryate boasts in a letter from the East, is a then-familiar quotation from Plautus (*valet pancratice atque athleticce*). The "Cramb and twice-sodden Colwort" of the title-page of his second book is merely an allusion to the Greek proverb, *δὲς κράμβη θάνατος*, more familiar in Juvenal's

Occidit miseros crambe repetita magistros.

It is not true that at every stage of his journey "he is careful to give you the mileage from his own door." He gives it at the end, as many modern travellers do. Why not? His preference of Odcombe to all other cities, is usually expressed in the facetious tone of Oliver Wendell Holmes' glorification of the Hub. The statement which Mr. Hewlett finds so funny, that "Odcombe . . . is so dear unto me that I preferre the very smoak thereof before the fire of all other places under the sunne," is a pretty allusion to Odysseus *ἰέμενος καὶ καπνόν*, or Ovid's, *fumum de patriis posse videre focis*. And the "provinciality" is neither more or less than that of Andrew Lang's dithyramb in justification of his preference of St. Andrews to all the world.

These harmless pedantries of classical quotation and allusion were the fashion then, and were doubtless less offensive to the circle of Ben Jonson than they would be to the editorial staff of the *New Republic*.

I am not sustaining the paradox that there was no fire behind all this smoke. There was obviously a touch of Boswellian fatuity in Coryate, and he may not have known how to behave at court. But his scholarship (though he modestly disclaims scholarship, he spoke and wrote tolerable Greek and Latin), his common sense, his lively intellectual curiosity and his human kindliness are grossly misrepresented when he is stigmatized as a court fool. The pompous euphuism of his addresses to King James and Prince Henry signifies little. Very estimable writers, from Isocrates to Themistius, and from the Emperor Julian to Tennyson, have addressed reigning monarchs in language that will not bear the scrutiny of a free posterity. King James may or may not have said, "Is that fool yet living?" I like not the security. The worst things that the condescending report of the Rev. Edward Terry, Chaplain to the Lord Ambassador to the Great Mogul, has to say of him are, that he had a thirst for fame, "that he was a man of a very coveting eye that could never be satisfied with seeing," and that "if he had not fallen into the smart hands of the wits of those times he might have fared better." It is true that the wits seem to have had what modern reporters would call 'a follow on Tom.' But it would require a more discriminating

and a longer criticism than I have space for to determine how many of the jocose poetical epistles of commendation published with his book were intended as gibes, and how many expressed genuine affection. For he was clearly, whatever his foibles, a jolly good fellow, and a lovable man. A friend aptly quotes of him Publilius Syrus' saying,

Comes facundus in via pro vehiculo.

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PIERRE BAYLE AND HIS BIOGRAPHERS

There has already appeared in *M. L. N.*¹ a note relative to the work of one of Pierre Bayle's recent biographers, A. Cazes.² Aside from passages found in his work which reveal identity with A. Lenient's *Etude sur Bayle*, it may also be added that Cazes' information on the Rotterdam critic and philosopher is at times at fault as shown in his chapter devoted to the life of Bayle.

Page 4: Bayle's younger brother Joseph is called Du Perrot, though his name is given as Du Peyrat in Desmaizeaux (Cf. *Vie de Bayle, Dict. Crit.*,³ I, p. xvii). P. 5: Bayle is said to have been sent in his youth to one of his relatives, M. Bayze, a Protestant minister at Saverdun who had "une immense bibliothèque." Bayle was, indeed, related to Bayze, but, as a matter of fact, the minister referred to with a large library was M. Rival (Cf. *Vie de Bayle*, p. xvii). P. 5: "Rentré au Carla, il y passa des mois de convalescence." On the other hand Desmaizeaux states: "Lorsqu'il fut tout à fait rétabli il retourna au Carla" (Cf. *Vie de Bayle*, p. xvii). P. 11: In his *Critique générale de l'Histoire du Calvinisme* Bayle did not write 29 letters as indicated but 30. In 1685 he wrote 22 more. There appeared 52 letters in all (Cf. *Œuvres diverses*, Vol. II). P. 12: Cazes states that: "La sœur de Jurieu voulut marier Bayle avec Mlle Dumoulin." It is not quite so. Mademoiselle Jurieu mentioned in Desmaizeaux was Jurieu's wife and not his sister, and Mlle Dumoulin was her sister who later married Bagnage, Bayle's friend. The title "Mademoiselle" was also given to a married woman whose husband was not of noble birth. Mlle Dumoulin was not the intended one, as is said, but, in truth, did her utmost to bring about the marriage for the benefit of one of her friends (Cf. *Œuvres*, IV, *Lettre de Mlle Dumoulin*, 12 décembre 1682). P. 17: The wording "Au début de 1689 parut la Réponse d'un nouveau Converti bientôt suivie des Réflexions sur les

¹ *Bayle and his Biographers*, Horatio E. Smith, xxvii, 158.

² A. Cazes, *Pierre Bayle*, Dujarric et Cie, Paris, 1905.

³ Pierre Bayle, *Œuvres diverses* and *Dictionnaire Critique*, 1737 edition.

Guerres civiles des Protestants" is misleading. The latter work is in fact the title of a chapter forming part of the *Réponse etc.* The whole appeared early in 1689 (Cf. *Réponse d'un nouveau Converti*, *Œuvres*, II, 541 and 552). P. 18: Cazes quotes part of a letter of Bayle to his cousin de Naudis: "Vous serez cent fois meilleur réformé, si vous ne voyez notre religion qu'où elle est persécutée." The date of this letter is 1693 and not 1691 as erroneously stated. This quotation is taken directly from Desmaizeaux's *Vie de Bayle*, but the wording of this letter as found in Bayle's *Œuvres* is at variance and reads: "Vous serez une fois meilleur réformé si vous ne voyez notre religion que dans les païs où elle n'est pas sur le trône." Which reading is correct? (Cf. *Œuvres*, Vol. I, *Lettres à sa Famille*, p. 170.) P. 19: Commenting upon the verdict of the Consistory of the Walloon Church of Rotterdam concerning Bayle's attacks on Jurieu, Cazes says: "Bayle protesta de la droiture de ses intentions et Jurieu fut invité à plus de modération à l'égard de son adversaire." The Consistory's decision differs slightly. The minutes of the meetings indicate that Jurieu had been treated by Bayle very badly, and Bayle and not Jurieu was urged "à se conduire à l'avenir avec plus de modération tant dans la seconde édition de son Dictionnaire que dans les autres volumes qu'il promet au public" (Cf. *Actes du Consistoire de Rotterdam*, *Dict. crit.*, I, p. cxix).

While the first part of A. Cazes' work on Pierre Bayle should, therefore, be consulted with caution, due recognition must be made of the fact that the second part, which contains selections from Bayle's *Œuvres* is still of value and service.

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SYLVESTRE BONNARD AND PHILETAS

What had Sylvestre Bonnard been reading when there appeared to him, "a man without imagination," the fairy perched on the *Chronique de Nuremberg*? Surely the medieval nymphs and their portraits in old manuscripts were present to his memory. His fairy's dress might have come straight from some richly illumined parchment, but what medieval elf ever spoke as she? The author's fancy is bred in other traditions and Anatole France is better read in classic than in medieval literature. His Sylvestre Bonnard is no mean classical scholar. We may perhaps ask whether he had not in mind a pretty anacreontic motif in *Daphnis and Chloë*. In the second book of that famous story an old shepherd, Philetas, tells how he found in his garden and pursued in vain a tiny marauder. Wearied at last he leans on his staff while the intruder smiles and throws myrtle seeds at him, much as the nymph pelted Sylvestre's

nose with hazel nut shells. The old scholar reflects that "tout est permis aux dames et que tout ce qui vient d'elles est grâce et faveur" and addresses a learned compliment to the impertinent imp. Philetas feels his heart "amolli et attendri" and swears by all that he holds dear that the infant robber may have the liberty of the garden in exchange for a kiss. "Et adonc se prenant à rire avec une chère gaie, et bonne et gentille grâce, m'a jeté une voix si aimable et si douce, que ni l'arondelle, ni le rossignol, ni le cygne, fût-il aussi vieux que je suis, n'en saurait jeter de pareille, disant: Quant à moi, Philétas, ce ne serait pas la peine de te baiser; car j'aime plus être baisé que tu ne désires, toi, retourner dans ta jeunesse: mais garde que ce que tu me demandes ne soit un don mal séant et peu convenable à ton âge, pource que ta vieillesse ne t'exemptera point de me vouloir poursuivre, quand tu m'auras une fois baisé; et n'y a aigle ni faucon, ni autre oiseau de proie, tant ait-il l'aile vite et légère, qui me pût atteindre. Je ne suis point enfant, combien que j'en aie l'apparence; mais suis plus ancien que Saturne, plus ancien même que tout le temps. Je te connais dès lors qu'étant en la fleur de ton âge, tu gardais en ce prochain pâtis un si beau et gras troupeau de vaches, et étais près de toi quand tu jouais de la flûte sous ces hêtres, amoureux d'Amaryllyde. Mais tu ne me voyais pas, encore que je fusse avec ton amie . . . et pour le présent je gouverne Daphnis et Chloé. . . . Je me lave en ces fontaines, qui est cause que toutes les plantes et les fleurs de ton jardin sont si belles à voir, pour ce que mon bain les arrose . . . répute-toi bien heureux de ce que toi seul entre les hommes, dans ta vieillesse, tu es encore bien voulu de cet enfant." And Philetas, explaining his vision, says: "Amour . . . est jeune, beau, a des ailes; pourquoi il se plaît avec la jeunesse, cherche la beauté et ravit les âmes, ayant plus de pouvoir que Jupiter même. Il règne sur les astres, sur les éléments, gouverne le monde, et conduit les autres Dieux comme vous avec la houlette menez vos chèvres et brebis. Les fleurs sont ouvrage d'Amour; les plantes et les arbres sont de sa facture; c'est par lui que les rivières coulent, et que les vents soufflent."¹—Sylvestre congratulates his fairy on her judgment in appearing to an elderly scholar who knows the history of her race but she answers: "Le plus petit des marmots qui vont par les chemins avec un pan de chemise à la fente de leur culotte me connaît mieux que tous les gens à lunettes de vos Instituts et de vos Académies. . . . Je charme le monde; je suis partout, sur un rayon de lune, dans le frisson d'une source cachée, dans le feuillage mouvant qui chante, dans les blanches vapeurs qui montent, chaque matin, du creux des prairies, au milieu des bruyères roses partout!" And finally, although Sylvestre's fairy is not Cupidon, no one perhaps has ever given a better definition of Love: "On me rêve et je parais!"

¹ *Daphnis et Chloé*, édition Nilsson, Paris, s. d. pp. 71 et suiv.

I have quoted at length, not to show any direct borrowing, for surely there is none, but to make clear the kinship of imagination. In spite of her dress and the folk-lore tricks that Sylvestre attributes to his visitor, she is an evocation from Alexandrian rather than from medieval literature.

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AN IMPROMPTU OF VOLTAIRE COMPLETED

In the *Œuvres de Voltaire* (Edition Moland, vol. x, p. 477) is printed an *Impromptu* of four lines, to which the date of 1720 has been assigned: *Impromptu à Mademoiselle de Charolois peinte en habit de Cordelier*. A foot-note of the editor refers to the existence of a second version of this small poem: "M. de Voltaire, sachant qu'on chantait ces vers sur l'air de Robin Turelure, y ajouta, dit-on, d'autres couplets fort plaisants." I have found these additions by Voltaire in a manuscript of about 1734 in my possession: *Recueil de plusieurs Piesse* (sic), p. 501:

Frère Ange de Charolois
Par une rare aventure
Au cordon de St. François, turelure,
De Vénus joint la ceinture, Robin turelure.

S'il étoit aux Cordeliers
Moine de cette encolure
J'irais demain des premiers, turelure,
Chez eux briguer la tonsure, Robin turelure.

Avec un frère si beau,
Fut on couché sur la dure,
L'on passeroit à gogo, turelure,
Ses beaux ans dans la clôture, Robin turelure.

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A NOTE ON *The Scarlet Letter*

Was it a matter of deliberate and delicate design on Hawthorne's part that the action of *The Scarlet Letter* covers *seven* years, seeing that Hester Prynne and Arthur Dimmesdale broke the *seventh* commandment? With Chapter XI—"The Interior of a Heart," wherein the author, in so many words, lets us into the secret of the story—approximately seven years have passed. After this chapter, the phrase *seven years* occurs with the insistency of a refrain, appearing seventeen times from Chapter XII to Chapter XXIII. In the third person the phrase is used once with reference to the scaffold, and elsewhere with reference to Pearl, Chilling-

worth, and Hester. When put into the mouths of the characters, the phrase is used only by Hester and Dimmesdale. Such designed coincidence—the “seven years of outlaw and ignominy” matching by number the law broken by “the pastor and his parishioner”—without any comment by the author showing that he was aware of it, would be quite natural to the subtle simplicity of Hawthorne.

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BRIEF MENTION

A Study of Metre, by T. S. Omond (Reprinted from the first edition. London: Alexander Moring, The De La More Press, 1920). The Introductory note to the first edition of this work was dated January, 1903. After the interval of almost two decades the author resubmits his volume to the public with no changes “beyond trifling verbal corrections, . . . feeling that a book once issued is the property of the public.” But the critical press attests the fact that the interval has for him not been one of idleness in respect of his devotion to the study of English prosody. Besides he has recently recast and brought “down to date” his *English Metrists* (Clarendon Press, 1921). The writer of this notice also takes pleasure in the acknowledgment that thru an interchange of letters he has been gratified by Mr. Omond’s gentle, earnest, and fair-minded attitude to his colleagues in the study of his favorite subject. So scrupulous is Mr. Omond, with no aversion to readjustments of his convictions, that one cannot quarrel with him for a persistent and confident advocacy of judgments at which he has arrived thru honest endeavor. His is not the spirit of the intransigent. He rather seems to give to his positive statements the air of an invitation to carry the discussion into closer approximation of the complete truth. If, in the following paragraphs, necessary brevity will induce a somewhat absolute form of expression, Mr. Omond will be least inclined to misinterpret the manner.

Is the subject of English versification then one that has the connotations of a quarrel? It is. This is because an historical subject is prevailingly treated in an unhistorical manner; the evidence of centuries is disregarded, and the argument is based on subjective and vaguely preferred impressions, or on extemporized life-long convictions. In an analogous way, popular etymologies take a strong hold on the untrained mind, which is not easily persuaded that the plain meaning of Welsh Rare-bit is really no meaning at all. It would be gratifying to find Mr. Omond following the historical method. His recognition of accent as the *ictus metricus* would have taken on its complete meaning in the light of an historical consideration of the principles of English accentuation. Moreover, in that light the following statements

would have been greatly altered: "Milton's blank verse normally carries five accents, yet all critics [Is this true?] agree that there are lines in *Paradise Lost* with only four. How do such lines remain metrical? They remain so because each line consists of five periods, though in the case assumed not every period is signalized by accent. Periodicity is the essential quality, accentuation its usual but not invariable exponent" (p. 24). But for every line of 'only four' stresses the established list of accents available for stress would supply the required fifth stress.

The structural foot (or 'period' as Mr. Omond prefers to call it) is always marked off by some historically valid sort of accent functioning as stress (ictus). The accents available for this office are various. This is made plain in Bright and Miller's *Elements of English Versification* (BM.). But metrists, including Mr. Omond, are slow to learn the lesson thoroly. When, for example, in one of his letters to the press, Mr. Omond cites the line from Pope, "Or garden, tempting with forbidden fruit," and declares that "no grown person lays much stress on *with*," he may be asked what he means by "much stress." He cannot mean 'no stress'; and if by stress he means ictus, as he should do, he admits the required ictus. And it is the valid ictus of relational words (BM. § 47). This is a concession to 'routine scansion,' which, in another detached letter to the press (*The Times*, Lit. Sup. March 2, 1921), he recognizes as "the primary basis of metre," and adds "that we never can get altogether away from it." In this instance he is brought to admit the available stress of relational words, but merely as means for holding up the form, by not agreeing with Ruskin's parents in their disapproval of the child's (Ruskin's) recital of

Shall any following spring revive
The ashes of the urn

He would not have this stress exaggerated in a childish fashion. No one would. But the child has put the stress, tho it may wrongly be "much stress," at the right place.

In the letter just cited, Mr. Omond shows a wavering in judgment that would be corrected by a less trammelled observation of poetic conventions and by a perception of the inherent character and availability for ictus of the secondary word-accent. It is asked whether in the same line a word can show a variation of stress, as in "A *divine* presence in a place *divine*." The poets say it is admissible and produces admirable effects. Then "a crucial instance" is taken from Shelley: "I love all that thou *lovest*" (riming with *drest*). The comment runs: it is reported that the poetess Mme. Declaux "distinctly said *lovést*. Those who read . . . *lovést* are simply shirking the difficulty. The question is evidently not one to be settled offhand, and readers may be left to consider

it for themselves, recalling further examples, which are easily found." But the question is definitely answered by the "easily found" examples (BM. p. 64). A theory must of course stand the test of 'crucial instances.'

A verse is a succession of syllables, which, like a gimp cord, has a sustaining wire running thru it. The wire carries the pulsations of stress according to both the plainer and the more subtle sense-accent of the syllables, and so keeps the verse running true to the rhythm-signature. The metrist must agree with the poet in perceiving that in versification the language is under the dominion of an art that is not the art of prose-utterance. The more subtle accents, maintained thru centuries but always in prose subject to neglect, except when called up in some exigency of accentuation, these in verse are lifted into the function of stress as the poet's rhetoric of sense may require. Briefly that is the whole story, but to understand the full force of the statement one must undergo the discipline of training in the long but consistent history of the principles of English accentuation. No other basis will sustain a sound theory of the conventionalities of versification, as they have been observed thru centuries.

The present notice of Mr. Omond's reprinted treatise shall be restricted to a questioning of his fundamental contention. That this questioning is implied in what already has been stated will be perceived when it is observed that Mr. Omond builds his theory upon the assumption that the structural unit (the foot) is a time-unit. He accordingly scans by a subjective division of a verse into its "time-spaces or periods of duration, in which the syllables are, as it were, embedded." This involves a disregard of the historic stress-permissibilities of the language and of the finer sense-rhetoric of poetry, and leads to an admission of pauses that renders his theory unfruitful of a codification of the undeniably simple rules for the making of a normally rhythmic verse. Accentuation in its complete range of degrees provides for the equal time-units, and is therefore the primary factor in English versification.

Mr. Omond misunderstands or rather misinterprets scansion according to rhythm-signature, which is also called routine-scansion. To him the method is an artificial or mechanical syllable-counting. Now, routine-scansion has its analogue in reading a musical composition, in which there is a note-counting, but under the law of the regular recurrence of the 'beats.' Pauses are, of course, used structurally in both 'notations,' so too the resolution of the 'note' whether under the stress or in the 'thesis.' But the regular recurrence of the 'beat' must be maintained in both arts, and the 'beats' must fall at regular intervals of time. This is the structural fact in versification, and it is not invalidated by that class of pauses "voluntary and optional" that may be made in reading a verse. Mr. Omond says rightly of these pauses: "one reader

makes them and another leaves them out; the same reader will vary them at different times. These surely cannot be parts of structure" (p. 7).

One might have expected Mr. Omond's excellent report, with discerning comments, of the experiments made in the imitation of classic versification (*English Metrists*, chap. 1) to have shown him that the subtle laws of accentuation are to be primarily justified in the marking off of the "isochronous periods" of English rhythm. Moreover, he is surprisingly confident in contending for the novelty of his contention that rhythm moves with isochronous steps. But is this not universally taken for granted, and often enough plainly stated, that verse-rhythm responds to the beat of the baton? Notice, for example, Gayley and Young's *English Poetry, its Principles and Progress* (1904, latest impression 1908), Introd. § 7: "The recurrence of identity at regular time or space intervals which pleases us when it characterizes thought and natural movements and forms, . . . the poet attempts to represent in the materials of language. . . . we note that the rhythm regularly ascends to the stress; and that the syllables capable of receiving accent [should be 'stress'] have been ordered so that each is separated from the next by a light or unstressed syllable" (referring to the chosen example in iambic measure). And this from BM. § 4: "But the term 'rhythmic motion' is also applied to sensations of hearing. . . . Measured rhythm underlies the art of versification as well as the art of music. A verse is so constructed that its beats, or verse-stresses, fall at regular intervals of time, dividing the verse into equal time-units."

J. W. B.

The Dramatic Associations of the Easter Sepulchre. By Karl Young (University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature, No. 10. Madison, 1920). This study, despite its somewhat misleading title, is chiefly devoted to a consideration of the two medieval observances of Good Friday and Easter Sunday known as the *Depositio* and *Elevatio*, respectively. A number of texts are printed for the first time and the origins of the ceremonies as well as their relation to the *Visitatio Sepulchri* are investigated.

Professor Young connects the *Depositio Hostiae* with the custom of reserving the host consecrated on Holy Thursday for the Missa Praesanctificationum of Good Friday in some sort of receptacle associated with the idea of burial. He traces the laying down of a cross, with or without the host, to the influence of the *Adoratio Crucis*, one of the oldest observances of Holy Week. The *Elevatio* is regarded as a natural sequel to the *Depositio*.

Whether the use of the host preceded that of the cross in these ceremonies, or vice versa, we are not told, but the order adopted

in the discussion is followed in printing the texts, that is, the ceremonies involving the use of the host precede those in which the cross is used. Since it has hitherto been quite generally assumed, especially in view of the close connection between the *Adoratio* and the *Depositio* (cf. Chambers, *Mediaeval Stage*, II, 21) that the burying of a cross antedates that of a host, some discussion of this point would have been welcome.

The chronological relations between the *Depositio-Elevatio*, the Easter sepulchre, and the *Visitatio* are somewhat more fully indicated. According to the author, the *Depositio* and *Elevatio* apparently arose in the tenth century and became associated with a *sepulchrum* which "was already at hand for adoption" (p. 127). Altho these ceremonies, like the *Visitatio*, are extra-liturgical, nevertheless, unlike it, they are completely liturgical in content, and impersonation never took place in them. In other words, whatever the *Depositio* and *Elevatio* may indirectly have contributed to the mediæval stage, they themselves never became true drama. From these facts it is plausibly inferred that the *Visitatio* which, also during the tenth century, was brought into connection with the sepulchre, is a later development than the more stereotyped *Depositio* and *Elevatio*.

The value of this study lies less in its conclusions—most of which indeed had been anticipated by Chambers—than in its systematic presentation of new as well as old material and its re-investigation of the subject in the light of this presentation. Professor Young never allows himself to be tempted into making premature generalizations. One cannot refrain from hoping, therefore, that he may presently give us a history of the liturgical drama as a whole which will summarize and correlate the results of his many important contributions in this field.

G. F.

The Captives; or The Lost Recovered. By Thomas Heywood. Edited by Alexander Corbin Judson (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1921), renders generally accessible another of the plays that have for nearly forty years been locked up, out of reach of all students save those who are near the larger libraries, in one of the volumes of the late A. H. Bullen's *Collection of Old English Plays*, 1885. Last year I welcomed the reprint (by the Princeton University Press) of another of Bullen's plays: *Charlemagne*, edited by Professor Schoell; and it is a pleasure to welcome now this companion volume. The play is printed from the contemporary manuscript copy in Egerton Ms. 1994, in the British Museum. Professor Judson has used rotographs of the manuscript and has been able to correct a number of misreadings that crept into Bullen's text. More than that, he is able to furnish con-

vincing proofs of the fact that had previously been suspected by the authorities of the Museum; namely, that the manuscript is a holograph of Thomas Heywood himself, with a number of corrections and additions in a later handwriting. With regard to sources he has no absolutely new facts to add. The main plot derives from Plautus' *Rudens*; the extent of Heywood's indebtedness, often going so far as close verbal copying, is indicated in the notes. Professor Judson has in this part of his work made use of the researches of Allan H. Gilbert ("Thomas Heywood's Debt to Plautus," *Jour. Eng. and Germ. Phil.* XII). Mr. Bullen was not able to indicate the source of the curious farcical and *macabre* sub-plot of the murdered friar. In 1898 Professor Kittredge printed a note on this subject, pointing out that the underplot was a version of the Old French *fabliau* of "Le Prêtre qu'on porte." It was not noted at the time and it has remained to be noted by Professor Judson that two years earlier, in 1896, Professor Koeppl had indicated (in *Archiv*, xcvii) the precise source, a *novella* by Masuccio di Salerno, of which the French *fabliau* and the English "Merry Jest of Dan Hew of Leicestre" are quite similar versions.—The volume is of very pleasing appearance and is admirably printed; I have noted no error save "Dr. A. H. Ward" for "A. W. Ward" (p. 14).

S. C. C.

Lanson's *Manuel bibliographique de la littérature française moderne* needs no description in these columns. From the time of its first appearance it has been an indispensable aid in study and investigation. We now welcome with keen interest the new edition which has just appeared ("Nouvelle édition, revue et augmentée," Paris, Hachette, 1921, xxxii + 1820 pp.). Like the preceding edition, it is issued in five separate parts, and also in a single volume (80 francs). The first three parts are a reprint of the 1914 issue. Part 4 (Nineteenth Century) contains at the end an additional section of ten pages (1526-36) on war-literature. Part 5 is made up of the Supplement and the Index. The supplement, already present in 1914, has been revised and expanded: many items which had previously been overlooked or which belong to the period since the last edition have been added, so that instead of 130 pages the supplement now requires 202 pages. The index has been revised to include this new material.

Those who wish to bring their old edition up to date can do so by obtaining Part 4 (30 fr.) and Part 5 (15 fr.), or, if they do not require the section on war-literature, by adding to their present volume only Part 5. Libraries would do well to purchase the complete new edition.

E. C. A.